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ABSTRACT

The revised papers from the federally sponsored summer institute on school reform (June 19 to August 18, 1972) and additional papers on school administration and the history of school reform make up this report. The papers do not constitute a systematic, coherent treatment of school reform or set forth a plan for school reform. Rather, they treat selected aspects of the school system in depth in the belief that this will be more valuable in planning for school improvement than would a reform design worked out under the serious time restraints imposed on the summer institute. Each paper analyzes its subject in terms of the literature and the author's reflections. (Author/WM)

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The Final Report and Recommendations
of the

SUMMER INSTITUTE on the IMPROVEMENT AND REFORM of AMERICAN EDUCATION

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Caspar W. Weinberger, *Secretary*
Charles B. Saunders, Jr., *Acting Assistant Secretary for Education*

Office of Education
John Ottina, *Commissioner*

MEMBERS OF THE SUMMER INSTITUTE

Lee Anderson
Northwestern University

James A. Banks
University of Washington

Lawrence J. Barnett
University of Wisconsin
at Milwaukee

Elaine J. Chisholm
Harvey Public Schools, Illinois

Larry Cuban
District of Columbia
Public Schools

William Drummond
University of Florida

Roslynd McClendon
Detroit Public Schools

Del Schalock
Oregon System of
Higher Education

James R. Tanner
Cleveland Public Schools

David Tyack
Stanford University

Richard Uliberri
Weber State University

OFFICE OF EDUCATION REPRESENTATIVES

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William Smith

LEADERSHIP TRAINING INSTITUTE ON TEACHERS REPRESENTATIVES

Kathy Adam
E. Christian Anderson
Patricia Bentayou
Donald Orlosky
William Seiniger
B. Othanel Smith

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These papers were prepared by the authors as a result of a summer institute funded under the Education Professions Development Act of 1967. They reflect the findings and views of the authors. However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the U.S. Office of Education and no official endorsement by the U.S. Office of Education should be inferred.

FOREWORD

Every educator--professional and lay--is interested in finding ways to reform and improve American education. Many spend their entire careers in search of new and better learning systems. Unfortunately, most of them, for a variety of good reasons usually work in relative isolation from one another. Although many of the most useful studies and recommendations have come from these "lonesome scholars," it is probable that greater progress could be made if there were more opportunities for the sharing of ideas and approaches to bettering our educational system.

In this belief, the Federal Government has increasingly supported efforts to bring experts together to study high priority national issues in education. Groups like the NDEA National Institute on the Disadvantaged, the Newman Committee on Higher Education, the President's Task Force on Youth, and Task Force 72, were organized to study significant issues and problems in American education.

The most recent effort of this kind, and probably the most extensive and representative to date, were the six National Field Task Forces on the Improvement and Reform of American Education, created in 1972 by the Office of Education's National Center for the Improvement of Educational Systems (now the Division of Educational Systems Development). The Field Task Forces brought together a national cross-section of pacesetters from the major constituencies of American education--teachers, State education agencies, the community, school administration and supervision, higher education, and the basic studies for a six-months analysis of the key concepts of current training program policies and, more importantly, to recommend more effective means for systematic educational improvement and reform.

The Summer Institute paralleled the National Field Task Force efforts but its charge was different from theirs in that Institute members were asked to examine the major problems of educational reform without regard to the interests of specific educational constituencies. Therefore, in selecting Institute participants an effort was made to bring together scholars who had a proven track record in the study of educational reform rather than to represent any particular education group. Institute members were charged with making a broad study of the most critical problems of change and improvement, especially in inner-city schools.

It is hoped that these final recommendations of the Institute seminar will provide some considerable insight into the successes and failures of some Federal education programs--and offer some constructive ideas for significantly improving the quality of schooling in America.

John Lindia
Deputy Associate Commissioner
for Career Education

May 1974

PREFACE

During the early part of the 1971-1972 academic year, the United States Office of Education (USOE) planned to support a network of educational renewal sites under the direction of the Bureau of Educational Personnel Development (BEPD). The intent of the renewal program received favorable support but the details of developing and managing the program remained to be worked out. There were many unanswered questions and it was essential to find answers to these questions before educational renewal could begin. Questions about the level of funding, selection of renewal sites, control and administration of the program were raised along with questions about the purpose of renewal sites, their evaluation, and their governance.

Early efforts to define educational renewal were undertaken by the BEPD. Initial planning called for the establishment of State renewal sites that would supervise and coordinate local renewal sites within their respective States. Local renewal sites were viewed as clusters of approximately 10 contiguous schools and a teacher center with a director who would organize the schools and arrange for participation from teachers, universities, and the community. The basic purpose of the renewal program was to improve the performance of the schools in areas where achievement of pupils was especially low and where school problems were most severe.

It was apparent at the outset that the renewal program was complex and required thorough analysis before it could be carried out. Inquiries were made by Congressmen to determine the nature of the renewal program and its implications. Under the leadership of the Commissioner, USOE personnel discussed the use of discretionary funds for the renewal program. Chief State school officers and BEPD officials assessed the relationships between the State's responsibility for schools, the Federal role in giving school support, and the ways to blend both without denying either the responsibilities they were each attempting to assume.

School improvement through the training of personnel had been proceeding in other BEPD programs for several years. These other programs included the Elementary Models Program, Training Complexes, Protocol Materials Development, Training Materials Development, and the national movement to install Competency Based Teacher Education programs. The renewal program planned to capitalize on the work in these programs beyond the relationships that had begun. These five programs were being coordinated by the Leadership Training Institute on Teacher Preparation (LTI) at the University of South Florida when the plans for the renewal program were initiated. The LTI formed a study group in the fall of 1971 and invited participation by representatives from the Chief State School Officers, the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, an administrator from a large city school system, an educational researcher, and selected LTI members including one person from a State department of education and a dean of education from a large urban university. The purpose of the study group was to hold discussions and make recommendations to the BEPD in respect to its plans for starting an educational renewal program.

Thus, in the fall of 1971 educational renewal was developing as an idea, representatives from Congress and USOE personnel discussed the characteristics of the program, programs funded by the BEPD were regarded as parts in the renewal program, and discussions of educational renewal were taking place within a study committee established by the LTI.

The LTI study committee prepared papers on the governance of schools, relationships among educational personnel in local schools, universities, and the State Department, and the issues surrounding teacher centers and educational renewal sites. These papers were early steps toward addressing some of the issues about educational renewal. Despite the progress of the study group the analysis of the renewal program needed more thorough study than the group could provide by meeting occasionally over several months. The LTI directors proposed to the BEPD that a special institute be established and be provided sufficient time to analyze the issues in the program and recommend policy for educational renewal. The BEPD agreed that such a group should be convened and approved its formulation. The LTI directors were authorized to proceed in the establishment of the institute with plans to meet during the summer of 1972 for approximately two months. This group became known as the Summer Institute.

As the personnel for the Summer Institute were being selected, discussions between the U.S. Commissioner of Education and the Congress centered on the question of Congressional intent in the use of discretionary funds for the renewal program. After considerable discussion it was determined that the application of some of the discretionary funds for the renewal program would violate Congressional intent and that such "comingling" of funds should not be permitted. As a consequence the renewal program was discontinued but it became even more necessary for the BEPD to receive recommendations to coordinate programs that were in effect in BEPD. Plans for the Summer Institute proceeded but were shifted to a broader concern involving school reform rather than the more specific assignment to examine plans for the establishment of the renewal program.

A list of potential members of the Summer Institute was prepared through a joint effort with the LTI Directors and the program directors in the BEPD. The list was submitted to individuals and leaders of such organizations as the AACTE, NEA, and AFT. Each person to whom the list was sent was asked to list others whom he would recommend and to identify programs and research that might provide useful information and experience for the study group.

After submitting this list and receiving responses the LTI Directors reduced the list to the final selection and invited their participation.

Final selection included ten persons who represented one or more critical areas of the profession to assure a balanced perspective on the issues under consideration. Included among the group were two classroom teachers, one local school administrator, two educational researchers who each held a strong background in educational psychology, one staff member from a center for urban education, one university professor in teacher education, two university professors in the fields of political science and history, and one staff member from a State department of education. The LTI Directors chaired the Summer Institute and both were university professors whose specialities included teacher preparation.

The Summer Institute began on June 19, 1972, and ended on August 18, 1972. Before the group assembled for the summer, two meetings were held during the spring of 1972 to explain the mission of the Summer Institute and enable personnel from the USOE to meet and discuss the rationale and expectations of the project. During the nine weeks of the Institute program the work was carried out by holding discussions, making individual writing assignments, establishing deadlines for completion of assignments, circulation of written work to the members of the Institute for critique, editing, and rewriting of all assignments on the basis of the reactions each writer received. Meetings were also held during the summer with personnel from the BEPD and with representatives from classroom teachers, higher education, the community, basic fields of study and various levels of school administration. As a consequence the documents were influenced by the entire group but represent the views of each individual writer. At the end of the summer each participant had completed his assignment and a series of documents on school reform had been produced.

Following the summer's activity additional time was spent by the LTI Directors with one member on the Summer Institute to assess the totality of the work and identify weaknesses or shortcomings in the papers. Two additional topics were identified for the production of additional material--the history of educational reform and the training of school administrators. The first paper was commissioned and a meeting was held to plan it. The second topic was developed through a joint effort by a task force of school administrators and participation of the chairman of the task force in an LTI study group on school administration.

All papers were completed by the end of 1972. The LTI Directors analyzed the entire work, sought revisions from the original authors and made arrangements to present the final documents to the BEPD. Revision began in early 1973 and by the summer of 1973 the documents were ready to be presented. The Summer Institute members and LTI Directors met with personnel from the BEPD and presented their report in August. Two reports were presented, including the work of the Summer Institute and a document written by the LTI Directors that emerged from the work of the Summer Institute. After the presentation and discussions each member of the Summer Institute was asked to make final revisions in his work. The report that is provided in this volume includes the documents from the Summer Institute that have undergone revision and the additional papers that were written on the history of school reform, and school administration.

Each paper is complete in itself. It sets forth an analysis of its subject in terms of the literature and the reflections of the author. It neither grows out of the preceding essay nor leads into the one following. In short, the papers taken as a whole do not constitute a systematic, coherent treatment of school reform. The purpose of these essays is not to set forth a plan for school reform but rather to treat selected aspects of the school system in depth in the belief that this would be more valuable in planning for school improvement than a design for reform worked out under the serious time restraints imposed upon the Summer Institute.

The work of the Summer Institute could not have been completed without the energetic response of the participants. Their willingness to work hard, their attention to detail, and the honesty and candor with which they reacted to one another were carried out conscientiously and professionally. The members of the Institute were under pressure to think clearly, and prepare documents that were responsive to the major problems in the preparation of school personnel. They responded well to this demand.

The support and assistance of Dr. William L. Smith, Associate Commissioner, and Dr. Allen Schmeider, program director, BEPD, were essential to the success of the Institute.

They were able to keep Institute staff informed on national developments to help the participants respond to the realities of the Nation's potential to support school reform.

The cooperation and assistance of many people contributed to the success of the Institute. Task Force chairpersons representing special educational interests met with Institute staff; LTI members received reports from the Institute, evaluated the ideas, and helped to shape the direction of this work. Consultants willingly offered their assistance to individual Institute members. The LTI staff handled the many details of this project with a minimum of difficulty and they, too, deserve special recognition. We appreciate the high level of effort sustained by the participants and we wish to thank all those who helped to develop this document.

B. Othanel Smith
Director of the Leadership Training Institute
  on Teacher Preparation

Donald E. Orlosky
Associate Director

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PART I

Reform: History and Variables

Chapter 1

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATIONAL REFORM

by

David B. Tyack
Stanford University

We live today in a time of deflated hopes. Is effective reform of schooling possible? Despite the money and thought that have gone into new curriculum projects and new teaching arrangements, many thoughtful observers claim that few real changes have taken place behind classroom doors. Although large sums have been funneled into "compensatory education," many studies indicate that such programs have failed to alter the achievement levels of the children for whom they were designed. At the same time a number of critics have attacked the assumptions on which programs for the "disadvantaged" have been based. The kaleidoscope of changing prescriptions for the education of minority groups--integration, compensation, and self-determination among others--itself expresses a crisis of authority in the familiar ideology and practice of the common school.

In such a period it is natural to look to the past and to ask whether the touted reforms of earlier times really took place, indeed made a difference. One rapidly discovers that historians of education disagree among themselves in their answers to such questions. In the traditional interpretation the history of American education told of triumphant battles for public taxation for free schools, for standardization of supervision and curriculum, for professional training of teachers, for upward extension of the system to include the public secondary and higher education, and for differentiation of schooling to meet the needs of a vastly expanded student population and an altered social and economic order. It was a tale of reform and progress, marred here and there by "politics" or blocked temporarily by backward-looking teachers and laymen. It was an insider's view, seen from the top of the educational system down. From that perspective the narrative was fairly accurate. Most would agree that in comparison with 1850 or 1900, teachers today are better trained, school buildings more commodious, classes smaller, methods of teaching more varied, and students retained in school far longer.

Recently, however, a number of revisionist historians have questioned whether there have been significant changes in the ways schools have functioned during the last hundred years. They have also claimed that schools never performed the egalitarian and democratic purposes which their rhetoric proclaimed. For example, Michael Katz has given his new book on Class, Bureaucracy and Schools the subtitle "The Illusion of Educational Change in America." (Emphasis added.) Colin Greer's 1972 historical appraisal of public education is called The Great School Legend; it attacks the belief that the schools have successfully educated the masses in the past and its corollary that the present failures of schooling to cope with poverty are somehow new. Revisionists like Katz and Greer have done a service in calling attention to persisting issues of class, race, and power and in dissipating the fog of wishful thinking that often enshrouded earlier accounts of educational history.

In attempting to understand earlier instances of educational change, however, we believe that neither the traditional nor the revisionist interpretations are adequate guides. Henry David Thoreau once sardonically described a reformer who had written "a book called 'A Kill for a Blow,'" and who "behaved as if there were no alternatives between these. . . ." That seems to describe many books about schools. We submit that educational change has been neither illusory nor part of a triumphant evolution; the motives for reform of schools have been mixed and the consequences often unintended. But in our view significant changes have taken place.

Because the same social reality appears quite different to diverse groups and individuals, any historical interpretation necessarily oversimplifies the blurred surface and hidden dynamics of everyday life. Despite these difficulties, we believe that it is important to try to understand the past, for the way Americans think about history profoundly shapes choices today.

Accordingly, we will discuss three critical periods of change in American education:

(1) the common school crusade of the mid-19th century, when reformers constructed the basic ideology of public education and tried to create "the one best system" to embody those principles.

(2) the turn of the 20th century--roughly 1890 to 1920--when reformers sought to centralize control of schools and to give greater power to professionals to differentiate the structure and methods of schooling.

(3) responses during the last generation--roughly since the Brown decision of 1954--to the problem of providing genuine equality of opportunity to dispossessed groups, notably the poor and the people of color, and the resulting crisis of authority in public education.

One might easily designate other periods of educational reform, but we believe that these three are particularly significant with regard to the issues addressed in this book. Each of the periods coincided with large-scale changes in the character of American social and economic life; in different ways reformers in each case tried to adapt schooling to these larger shifts in the society; in each case both successes and failures created new problems for future reformers to cope with.

The Common School Crusade

Most historians agree that the common school revival at the mid-19th century constitutes the major turning point in the history of public schooling in this country. It is important to note, however, that this movement was hardly the beginning of concern for the education of the public; rather, what the crusade achieved was to persuade American citizens that they should channel their generalized esteem for education into a particular institution with a particular ideology: the common school, an agency that was to be public in control and support, free, mixing all social groups under one roof, and offering education of such quality that no one would desire private schooling. Because the common school was designed for all children, the leaders believed that it should be nonsectarian in its moral instruction and nonpartisan in its political teaching. In order to promote such republican virtue the reformers believed that they must create system where they saw chaotic diversity. To unify the people, public education itself must be unified and efficient. Hence, most reformers wished to standardize curriculum, to classify students into grades, to train teachers in approved methods, and to improve regulation and supervision of schools. The common school reform, then, had two phases: (1) persuading the public of the validity of the common school ideology; and (2) creating pedagogical order within the public school system.

Well before the common school crusade Americans had displayed great enthusiasm for education. Most State constitutions before 1800 proclaimed the value of diffusing learning broadly among the people. Like Alexis de Tocqueville, many foreign visitors commented on citizens' zeal for schooling. It has been estimated that in 1830, 35 percent of children from 5 to 19 were enrolled in some school and that about 90 percent of white adults were literate in 1840, placing the United States in the forefront of education at that time together with Scotland and Germany.

Until the success of the common school crusade in the years following 1840, however, the common attitude of the public toward schooling rather resembled the prevalent 20th-century American attitude toward organized religion, namely, that it was beneficial both for the individual and for society if a person attended the school of his choice. In the early 19th century there were few sharp lines between "public" and "private" education. States liberally subsidized "private" academies or colleges since they were assumed to be in the public interest, and towns and cities supported charity schools controlled by churches and self-perpetuating boards of trustees. In "public" schools parents often paid tuition (called "rate-bills").

Schools commonly reflected the pluralism of the society and perpetuated differences of religion, ethnicity, social class, or occupational purpose.

In 1832, Abraham Lincoln expressed a characteristic American attitude toward schools when he declared himself a candidate for the State assembly: "Upon the subject of education, not presuming to dictate any plan or system respecting it, I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we as a people can be engaged in . . . I . . . should be gratified to have it in my power to contribute something to the advancement of any measure which might have a tendency to accelerate the happy period when educational opportunity should become more general."

Lincoln represented a common view: he was committed in principle to education, but nonchalant about means. In the next few decades the evangelists for public education would attempt to persuade Americans that a general faith in education was not enough, for the health of the republic depended upon common schools. From the clash of new social conditions and old articles of faith, interpreted by eloquent and determined reformers, came the American public school. So clear were the outlines of this institution after the Civil War that an English educator could talk confidently about "the free school system of the United States."

Who were the common school reformers, what were their major concerns, and how did they operate? Here it is useful to distinguish the campaign for public education in the urbanized East from the creation of common schools in the sparsely settled regions of the Western States.

In the eastern cities the men who led the common school revival were mostly members of professional and business groups, joined by leading schoolmen. They saw public education as the key answer to troubling new problems created by urbanization, industrialization, immigration, and the democratization of the suffrage. Poverty, crime, intemperance, violence, and human suffering were increasingly visible in the manufacturing centers and crowded and heterogeneous commercial cities. Such conditions contradicted articles of faith cherished by the reformers: the perfectibility of man, the need for orderly self-government, the doctrine of equality of opportunity through self-help, the responsibility of men for the welfare of others in their community. Basically conservative, these reformers believed that the common school offered the most humane form of social control and the safest form of social renewal.

In frontier settlements, on the other hand, a large proportion of the common school evangelists were ministers--often joined by other professional leaders--who were bothered by the disintegration of standards of behavior and learning on the individualistic frontier and sought to recreate the kinds of integrative institutions and patterns of education they had known in the East. They wished to create communities around the core institutions of school and church. In both settings the crusaders for public education agreed that social stability and individual welfare alike required a uniform public school that could assure common standards of literacy, morality, and republican citizenship in the rising generation. The old hodgepodge of schools could not accomplish that; only an efficient common school would suffice.

To reformers like Horace Mann in Massachusetts, industrialization brought both curse and promise. Machines created enormous wealth and possibilities of communication and interdependence undreamed of in earlier times, but at the same time they destroyed links between home and work, between ownership and employment, between traditional norms and modern patterns of human behavior. Articulate spokesmen of "workingmen's" groups--mostly artisans and others in the upper reaches of the labor force--feared downward mobility as industrialization invaded their crafts and as a new class of dependent factory operatives emerged; they especially deplored the employment of thousands of unschooled children in the mills and called for public education to prevent "the sacrifice of the . . . rising generation of our country, to the cupidity and avarice of their employers." Both "workingmen" and employers mostly agreed, however, that free and universal schooling could foster equality of opportunity amid the threats posed by the factory system.

As universal white male suffrage became increasingly the rule in eastern cities, and as immigration from Ireland and Germany swelled in the 1840's, the common school crusaders argued that the foreign masses must be Americanized and the common man taught how to exercise citizenship intelligently. The Whig Governor of Massachusetts pointed out that when every man might vote, or be elected to office, or carry a gun in the militia, or serve on a jury, every man must be properly educated. Religious and ethnic riots and political disorder especially alarmed reformers who still regarded the American republic as an experiment in self-government--fears reinforced, for example, when militia called out to quell riots fraternized instead with the rebels.

Worry about social disintegration also bothered common school crusaders in the new settlements in the West, but there the task was to create rather than to reinvigorate and redirect educational institutions. The greatest increase in pupils in schools took place in these States in the Midwest and Far West. Many of the founders of public school systems in the West were ministers sent by missionary bureaucracies or denominations to Protestantize and civilize the Huck Finns who had lit out for the territories. They founded journals and teachers' associations to promote schools, served as county and State superintendents of instruction, provided teachers through organizations like the Board of National Popular Education, and often were the only persons with the time or sense of mission to try to establish public schools.

A missionary in Oregon City and a lawyer like Mann in Boston shared a common problem in their work as common school reformers: they had very little power save that of persuasion. As Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, for example, Mann had a legislative mandate only to collect statistics, diffuse information about educational innovations, "suggest" improvements to the board and legislature, and carry the educational gospel to the people in meetings of teachers, board members, and "friends of education generally." In short, the heart of his task was "arousing and guiding public sentiment in relation to the practical interests of education." Such were the strategies and duties of most of the common school reformers. Persuasion had already stimulated the enormous growth of membership in the Protestant denominations in the first half of the 19th century, and the principle of voluntarism in religion produced dozens of burgeoning evangelical sects. The task of the common school crusaders, on the other hand, was to convince Americans that the heterogeneity of American schools was a mistake, that attending any school of one's choice was not enough, that the common school--universal, free, public, uniform--should be the school of all. Only a school which properly inculcated individual and civic virtue could vindicate American faith in education. With this educational creed the American people largely agreed, though many Catholics, immigrants, and poor farmers and workers--the "culturally different" of that time of WASP supremacy--felt that the design was not their own. An ideology was born.

Persuading citizens of the wisdom of the common school ideology was not enough, however. The second phase of the common school movement was actually putting the new model into practice by standardizing public education. The evangelical task shifted to institution-building as schoolmen attempted to create "the one best system." Here cities took the lead, and new communities like Chicago or St. Louis or Portland learned from the experience of urban centers in the East.

Well after the middle of the 19th century the old rural or village models of schooling persisted in many cities: one-room schoolhouses with children of different ages; district or ward boards of trustees which selected and supervised teachers; miscellaneous curriculum and widely varying standards of performance; and lack of coordination and communication, even on so fundamental a matter as raising and dispersing tax money. In short, urban public education often consisted of a miscellaneous collection of schoolhouses rather than a coherent system. In Philadelphia in 1860, for example, citizens spent over half a million dollars on teaching 63,530 students in 92 public schools, but actual control of the schools rested in 24 sectional boards which competed with each other for funds and which reflected the disparate goals of different neighborhoods.

The leading school reformers agreed that supervision, coordination, and clear channels of communication and authority were essential. "Organization becomes necessary in the crowded schools of congested districts," said the superintendent of schools in Worcester, Massachusetts, "just as hard pavements cover the city streets. . . ." Most urban educators believed that in an increasingly bureaucratic society the schools needed to provide an urban discipline, a bridge from the private world of the family to the large organizations in which more and more Americans spent their days. In 1871 the St. Louis superintendent succinctly stated the premises behind the drive to standardize the common school: "The first requisite of the school is Order: each pupil must be taught first and foremost to conform his behavior to a general standard." In industrial society, he added, "conformity to the time of the train, to the starting of work in the manufactory" and to the other characteristic activities of the city required precision, regularity, and obedience. The corollary was that the school must itself be a model of bureaucratic order: "The pupil must have his lessons ready at the appointed time, must rise at the tap of the bell, move to the line, return; in short, go through all the evolutions with equal precision."

In order to provide this sort of training, schoolmen sought to build unified systems. They divided cities into attendance districts, subdivided ungraded schools into distinct classes or "grades" in which children were segregated according to their academic progress and age, provided standardized classrooms and equipment, trained and certified teachers for specific tasks within these graded schools, designed a sequential curriculum or program of studies, devised examinations to test what children learned, and developed supervision by principals and a superintendent. After pioneering such uniform structures of education in cities, they sought also to extend them to the countryside through setting State standards and through consolidation of one-room schools.

The two phases of the common school movement--persuading the public to accept the common school idea and standardizing the operation of the institution--were complementary but somewhat different as modes of reform. Early crusaders like Mann were also interested in curriculum, grading of schools, and better preparation for teachers; the school managers who succeeded them as leaders--men like John Philbrick, superintendent in Boston--still had to deal with the public. But the bureaucrats tended to see their task not so much as evangelical persuasion as it was the "perfecting of the system itself." By the 1880's Philbrick saw the compleat schoolman as one who "always has some project in hand: the establishment of a training school for teachers, an evening school, or an industrial school; the adoption of a better method of examining and certificating teachers . . . an improvement in the plan of constructing schoolhouses; the devising of a more rational program and a more rational system of school examinations." Like his colleagues elsewhere, Philbrick believed in perfecting the machinery of education, convinced that "civilization is rapidly tending to uniformity and unity. . . . The best is the best everywhere." In meetings of professional associations, in school reports and journals, the reformer-bureaucrats shared ideas through growing channels of professional communication, secure in the ideology of the common school and perceiving their task as institution-building. With remarkable speed, and without the sanctions of a central ministry of education, they managed to create patterns of schooling that were substantially similar in design in Denver and Birmingham, in Kansas City and Chicago.

At the end of the 19th century the U.S. Commissioner of Education looked back with pride on the consolidation and expansion of the common school. By then about 70 percent of persons aged 5 to 18 years were enrolled in some sort of school; 15 million were in public schools; and of 100 students in all kinds of educational institutions 95 were in elementary schools, 4 in secondary, and 1 in a postsecondary school. A typical young American of 1898 could expect to receive 5 years of schooling. In settled communities that child would normally attend a class or "grade" segregated according to age and advancement in a standardized curriculum which included the three R's and a smattering of other subjects like geography, history, and natural science. The basic functions of schooling were relatively clear-cut: to equip students with academic skills and to give them a type of political and moral socialization--a common set of values and habits--that would enable them to participate in an increasingly urban and industrial society. Most schoolmen did not, however, see schools as a means of channeling children into niches in the economy, for they believed that a modest education coupled with self-help and good character would assure individual success. Few occupations required elaborate educational credentials in the 19th century. Hence the search for the "one best system" was an attempt to give each child a common education in the common school, thereby to provide him with an equal starting point in the later race for rewards. On such schooling, thought the reformers, depended the stability of the republic.

The new forms of school organization, however, came under sharp attack even though few Americans questioned the basic common school ideology. Critics of bureaucracy ridiculed the standardization of schools and claimed that educators were simply creating an elaborate establishment to serve their own interests. Advocates of a more child-centered pedagogy argued that classrooms were too mechanical, the curriculum too rigid and bookish. Critics argued that the schools were not effectively reaching the children of the city slums and the rural poor. But the most severe challenge to the superintendents came from the patterns of lay control of public education, decentralized systems which often persisted from the times when cities had been villages. In many urban systems laymen refused to delegate decisionmaking to the professionals. Central school boards often remained large and unwieldy; they transacted administrative business in subcommittees; committeemen sometimes regarded the schools as a source of graft and patronage; and many of the most important decisions were made in decentralized ward boards.

In their attempts to construct the "one best system," then, schoolmen frequently encountered frustration: they could supervise teachers but not hire them; design a course of study but not select textbooks; and they confronted a barrage of political influences they considered extraneous to education, like ethnicity, religion, and party loyalty, all of which were important in the politics of schooling. To Philbrick "excessive decentralization of administration has been one of the chief obstacles to improvement in every department of our free school system." The next wave of reform in education would seek to "take the schools out of politics," and thereby to alleviate the frustrations of those who tried to institutionalize the ideology of the common school.

Centralization of Control in City Schools

As we have seen, through persuasion the common school crusaders of the mid-19th century built an ideological consensus on the functions of public schooling. In turn, the generation of public schoolmen who followed Horace Mann sought to create "the one best system" which would embody those ideals. By the end of the 19th century, however, a number of reformers believed that a major shift in the politics of schools--in the whole decisionmaking process--was essential since the older decentralized form of school board politics no longer matched the needs of a complex, industrialized urban society of large organizations.

During the years from 1890 to 1920 these centralist reformers talked about accountability, about cutting red tape, about organizing coalitions to push educational reform, and about the need to face the realities of class and power in American society. They formed a network of professional and business elites, including university people and the new professionally trained school administrators. They planned a basic shift in the control of urban education which would vest political power in a small group of "successful" men on central school boards and eliminate overlapping jurisdictions between central and ward boards by abolishing the local committees. They wished to emulate the process of decisionmaking used in the board of directors of modern business corporations rather than the common practice of delegating administrative decisions to lay subcommittees of the large central school boards. They planned to turn over almost total administrative power to an expert superintendent and his staff so that they could reshape the schools to fit new social and economic conditions.

In sum, they wished to "take the schools out of politics" and to create autonomy for the professional expert. One of the key leaders of the movement put it this way: it was as foolish to speak of "the democratization of the treatment of appendicitis" as to speak of "the democratization of schools. . . . The fundamental confusion is this: Democracy is a principle of government; the schools belong to the administration; and a democracy is as much entitled as a monarchy to have its business well done."

This reform movement and program closely resemble Samuel P. Hay's interpretation of general municipal "progressive" reform at the turn of the 20th century. Studies of school centralization in cities like New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and San Francisco indicate that the chief support for reform "did not come from the lower or middle classes, but from the upper class." Like reforms in public health, welfare services, police, and city government, urban educational reform followed a familiar pattern of muckrakers' exposure of corruption, suffering or inefficiency; the formation of alliances of leading citizens and professional experts who proposed structural changes (like small, "nonpartisan" boards of education); and a subsequent campaign for a "nonpolitical" and rational reorganization of public services. Public rhetoric might portray a contest between "the people" versus "the politicians," but as Hay says, the reformers wished "not only to replace bad men with good; they proposed to change the occupational and class origins of decision-makers." They wanted power to their people.

School centralizers followed basically similar strategies in different cities across the United States. Both university and business leaders among the reformers tended to be national rather than local in their frame of reference and shared ideas of school reform through professional and business associations. Local school reform groups like the public educational associations sprang up in numerous cities and invited speakers and planners to visit them; leaders like Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard, and the newly emerging corps of experts in school administration traveled, criss-crossed the Nation to serve as consultants. The centralizers also enjoyed easy access to the mass media and the magazines read by opinion-makers. In the battle to destroy the ward system in New York, for example, the reformers controlled news and editorials in most of the major newspapers of that city as well as an inside track to educational journals and periodicals such as Harper's Weekly, The Outlook, and The Critic. Thereby they could define the problem of city schools in such a way that their remedies seemed self-evident and opposition to reform appeared selfish or misguided. Grassroots politics of education in the decentralized system they could dismiss as parochialism or corruption. Practically unchecked power to set educational policies they could define as the legitimate power of the professional expert. The slogan "get the schools out of politics" could mask what might be instead a transfer of power to new groups. The quoted opinions of experts could be used to squelch opposition. A wide variety of educational muckrakers, educators, and citizens accepted such definitions of the problems and agreed that the source of evils in urban education was corruption and lack of expertise in running the schools. Through publicity and political campaigns in State legislatures or within the city polity the reformers managed to change charters or legislation which structured the governance of schools.

The centralizers were notably successful in changing the social composition, size, and mode of operation of school boards in large cities. Indeed, their success so framed the structure of urban education that much of the subsequent history of these schools has been the unfolding of the organizational consequences of centralization. In 1893 in the 28 cities having populations of 100,000 or more, there were 603 central board members--an average of 21.5 per city; in addition, there were hundreds of ward board members in some of the largest cities. By 1913, the number of central board members in those cities had dropped to 264, or an average of 10.2, while the ward boards had all but disappeared. By 1923, the numbers diminished so that the median was seven members. Another important structural change in the years from 1890 to 1920 was a widespread shift from election of central school board members by ward to election at large--a reform which tended to favor the professional and business elites, who normally were concentrated in certain sections of the city and who had easy access to the media. Numerous studies of school boards in the 20th century have indicated that members have been overwhelmingly composed of business and professional persons.

But the changes in the size, social composition, and mode of election of urban school boards were only part of the reform program. Equally important was the change in procedures of decisionmaking. The village heritage of the 19th century had made a virtue of lay participation in administrative decisions--for example, selection and supervision of teachers, choosing sites and plans of schoolhouses, or adjudicating arguments over curriculum. But in the 20th century the operation of the corporate board of directors with its expert manager became increasingly the norm. The crucial changes were the reduction or elimination of subcommittees of the board together with the delegation of the power of initiative and the agenda largely to the superintendent.

Centralization was the reformers' response, then, to some vexing problems of governance in urban education and to a new conception of the role of schools in a mass society. In a number of cities, corrupt political machines had used the schools as sources of graft and patronage. Wards competed with each other for plums in the distribution of tax dollars. Standards for choosing teachers or textbooks were often capricious, and tenure of office was often precarious for talented but politically independent teachers. Networks of communication and coordination within the schools frequently failed to keep up with the explosive rate of growth in the student population. To most of the centralizers decentralized governance of schools was anachronistic and inefficient. A corporation lawyer in New York argued, for example, that ward control of education was "primitive," a relic of the days when each neighborhood had its own watchmen and volunteer firemen. "Mulberry Bend may not control its own police, nor Murray Hill assess its own taxes, nor Hell's Kitchen select its own health inspector." No, the day had come to "organize on a modern and rational plan our great and costly system of public schools." Many of the men who reshaped the control of urban education had also planned and controlled the consolidation of vast business enterprises at the turn of the century. They believed that the same model of expert, centralized administration could serve other organizations equally well: universities, schools, churches, welfare services, police, and city services.

The centralizers also believed that urban education should become more differentiated than the old common school and should prepare children for the diverse economic roles they would later play. It was naive, they believed, to pretend that America was a classless society and unwise to provide the same schooling to each child regardless of his probable destiny in life or his abilities. Hence the reformers at the turn of the century normally supported such changes as vocational education and guidance and the provision of special classes, tracks, and schools for different kinds of children, and they believed that the design of these programs and the assignment of children to the new tracks should be in the hands of professional educators.

To many schoolmen the corporate model of school governance was not only "modern and rational" but also the answer to some of their biggest problems. They wished to gain high status for the superintendent--and here he was compared with that prestigious figure, the business executive. They were tired of "politics" which endangered their tenure and sabotaged their attempts to improve the system--and here was a school board that promised to be "above politics." They wanted to make of school administration a science--and here was a ready-to-use body of literature on business efficiency to adapt to education. The administrative progressives were quick to develop the implications of the corporate model and to anticipate possible objections to it on democratic grounds. An NEA committee on city systems admitted that some might attack centralization as "unwisely taking away power from the people," but countered that centering power in experts made the schools more responsive by making them more clearly accountable.

One of the biggest differences between the behavior of the old large boards and the new small ones, the reformers reported, was that members no longer spoke to the galleries or worked for particular neighborhoods. In 1905, after the Boston school committee was reduced from 24 to 5, the superintendent wrote that "the work of the board is conducted in a conversational tone; speeches made for political effect that were common in the larger board are no longer delivered. The deliberations of the board are not essentially different from those of a board of directors." Another expert wrote that "if the board confines itself to its proper work, an hour a week will transact all of the school business which the board should handle. There is no more need for oratory in the conduct of a school system than there would be in the conduct of a national bank." The St. Louis superintendent reported that after its school board gave him power over the agenda, it often completed meetings in 20 minutes. Repeatedly the advocates of the corporate model portrayed conflicts of value, debate, and presentation of the interests of special groups as "inefficient" and unnecessary in a properly functioning system of school governance.

The political scientist Wallace Sayre has observed that an educational system--like other large organizations--"works persistently towards stabilizing its relationship to each of the other elements in its field of forces in ways that will maximize its own autonomous role." Such was the goal of the centralizers. Sayre has described the ideology, "the set of serviceable myths" which they propounded:

> Education is a unique governmental function. . . .
>
> Educators are the only proper guardians of the educational function; their autonomy in this guardianship is essential to the public interest. . . .
>
> The community, when it confronts educational questions, should be an unstructured audience of citizens. These citizens should not be influenced in their responses to educational questions by their structured associations in organizations: not as members of interest groups of any kind (save perhaps in parents' groups) or as members of a political party. . . .
>
> The unstructured community will be wisest in its responses to educational questions when it listens to the educators, to the "experts" in education. . . .
>
> Education must be "taken out of politics" because political parties and politicians are institutions not to be trusted. . . .

In urging the centralized corporate model of school governance and internal control by experts, the centralizers were, of course, simply exchanging one form of "political" decisionmaking for another. They were arguing for a relatively closed form of politics in which power and initiative flowed from the top down and administrative law or directives took the place of decision by elected officials.

These reforms in governance gave greater power to professional leaders to differentiate the structure of urban systems and to control the course of educational change. We refer to these internal reforms as "administrative progressivism" since they were spearheaded by superintendents and university professors of educational administration. The administrative progressives believed that they knew what was wrong with the unified common school systems created in the 19th century: the curriculum and structure of the schools were too "bookish," rigid and undiversified, ill-adapted to the great variety of students flooding the upper grades of the elementary schools and the secondary schools and poorly serving the needs of the economy for specialized manpower. These leaders argued that the large numbers of pupils who were overaged for their classes or who dropped out of school were symptoms of malfunction. A modernized school system should "meet the needs of the children," they held, and these needs and social demands could be assessed scientifically and the system reshaped accordingly. Intelligence testing and other forms of measurement provided a convenient technology for classifying children. Likewise, they differentiated secondary education into junior and senior high schools, developed vocational, commercial, and other tracks, created professional guidance programs, revamped the curriculum, and added new specialists to the staff.

Statistics revealed the magnitude of the transformation and suggested the character of the challenges schoolmen faced as education became increasingly universal through the high school years. The costs of city schools in 1910 were twice as high as in 1900, while during each year from 1890 to 1918 there was a new high school built on an average of one per day. Attendance in high schools increased during those two decades from 202,000 to 1,645,000, and continued to soar for the next 30 years. The public secondary school moved from its role as a marginal and tiny institution to the center of the stage of educational reform.

As city systems grew in size and bureaucratic complexity, the number of specialized administrative officers expanded dramatically. From 1890 to 1920 the number of "supervisory officers jumped from 9 to 144 in Baltimore, 7 to 159 in Boston, 31 to 329 in Detroit, 58 to 159 in Cleveland, 235 to 1,310 in New York, and 66 to 268 in Philadelphia. Schoolmen created special programs for retarded, deaf, gifted, blind, delinquent, anemic, and other groups of children and multiple tracks and schools for vocational and other specialized training.

The rationale for the new programs of the administrative progressives came partly from educational science, in particular psychological and educational measurement and learning theory. Especially after the mass use of group I.Q. tests in World War I, educators seized on intelligence testing as a means of grouping students by what they took to be inherent intellectual ability; they also widely assumed that these tests would provide rational curricular and vocational guidance. New theories of learning stressed the importance of activity and motivation for students and influenced changes in curriculum and teaching methods. Old ideas of mental discipline and the transfer of training gave way to new principles of curricular design which emphasized training children for the specific tasks they would face in everyday life.

The doctrine of "social efficiency" justified differentiated schooling. The administrative progressives rejected the notion that a common grounding in the three R's would sufficiently prepare students for life. A key reformer wrote that educators should "give up the exceedingly democratic idea that all are equal, and that our society is devoid of classes." Instead, the school should mesh with the stratification of the outside social system. What was wrong with the old school was that it was inefficient and lacked "enough large pieces of machinery, located in special shops or units of the manufacturing plant, to enable it to meet modern manufacturing conditions." Educational systems should be "factories in which the raw materials (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life. The specifications for manufacturing come from the demands of the twentieth century civilization."

In theory, the science of psychological measurement enabled schoolmen to retain their faith in individual opportunity even though the school sorted and trained students for different roles in later life, for students took the tests as individuals. In practice, however, the tests discriminated against children whose experience as members of groups--for example, as South Italians or as rural Appalachian whites--did not provide appropriate extra-school learning sampled on the examinations.

Most of the administrative progressives regarded the first three decades of the 20th century as a success story. The structural changes in school governance gave professionals greater autonomy; education science offered new and powerful tools for classifying and instructing students; the educational establishment grew in cost, size, and complexity. And schooling was coming to have far greater consequences for graduates since employers increasingly imposed educational requirements and as credentials multiplied. Schoolmen came to be gatekeepers to opportunity in a manner unprecedented in the past.

In time new reformers would criticize both the goals of the centralizers who tried to "take the schools out of politics" and the internal reforms wrought by the administrative progressives. Critics would decry the massive school bureaucracies that grew up after centralization; they would say that children and parents were subjects, not citizens, of systems closed to external influence; they would argue that educational science was biased, not objective. Ironically, the reform that began by promising accountability would itself be criticized for failing to be accountable. Activists would call for the reform of a reform.

A Crisis of Authority

During the last generation Americans have witnessed a crisis of authority in both the ideology and the performance of public education. Future historians may regard the last 20 years as one of those great turning points in educational history comparable to the common school crusade of the mid-19th century or the campaign for centralization and social efficiency at the turn of this century. Recent complex changes have called into question some of the legacies of earlier reforms: that education was the most potent means of creating equality; that schools should be "kept out of politics"; that the professionals could discover "the one best system" through specialized knowledge; and that public schools could create one society from many people--e pluribus unum. Instead, articulate spokesmen have claimed that schools have not--and perhaps cannot--produce meaningful equality. They have said that American trust in education as a means of reform has provided an excuse for not pursuing real social or economic change. People who have felt excluded from decisionmaking have protested that the goal of "keeping the schools out of politics" has obscured vested interests. Because experts have often failed to improve educational performance among dispossessed groups, many critics have attacked "the one best system" and have argued that both the schools and the knowledge base on which they rested are permeated with racism and class bias. And lastly, many groups are resisting the notion that the schools should assimilate diverse groups and are advocating cultural pluralism or self-determination in place of Anglo-conformity.

The last two tumultuous decades have been a time when the pendulum has swung rapidly from hope and high expectations to deep disappointment, anger, and a search for alternatives.

The Brown desegregation decision of 1954 provides a convenient point of departure. In Brown the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed belief in the central "importance of education in our democratic society" as "the very foundation of good citizenship." Indeed, it was because the school was so crucial that segregation on the basis of race denied black children "the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment." "Today," said the Court, schooling "is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education." Segregation, of course, denied the professed ideology of the common school, which in theory sought to mix all kinds of children under the unifying roof of the public school. Hence the Supreme Court was not so much stating a new principle as correcting an old abuse.

The slow, painful, and still incomplete drive to enforce the new law of the land in the Nation's schools made education a staging ground in the quest for racial justice. For years black parents had told their children to get an education, for that was one thing white society could not take away. After Brown, supposedly with the rule of law on their side, blacks sought to enroll their children in all-white schools, only to find that troops had to be called out to protect little girls from white mobs. "It was incredible to a Negro woman who had been a servant in a white house for twenty years," wrote Louis Lomax, "that her employers would cringe and hide while white trash threw bricks at her grandson on his way to school." Daisy Bates told black parents in Little Rock that the students should stick it out. "We've got to decide if [desegregation] is to be this generation or never."

In northern cities the legal situation was more cloudy, for there the segregation in the schools resulted mostly from residential patterns rather than from legal policy--*de facto* rather than *de jure*--although to the child in an all-black school the lawyers' technicalities probably made little difference. Ghetto residents, the poor, people of color, generally knew first-hand what scholarly studies revealed in cities like Detroit and Chicago: their schools were shortchanged, as run-down buildings, uncertified teachers, crowded classrooms, and inadequate equipment and books attested. The black demand for desegregation in northern cities was at base a quest for quality and equality in schooling; only if there were white children as hostages in classrooms could the white power structure be trusted to educate black children effectively.

But the search for better education through integration proved disappointing. In northern cities school boards and school leaders often rejected or sabotaged black demands for mixed schools, even where integration was feasible; in school systems like those of Washington, D.C., Chicago, or Newark the large proportion of black children or the vastness of the ghettos made mixing of populations difficult if not impossible within district boundaries. The percentage of black children attending segregated schools in the North increased markedly during the dozen years following Brown.

Alongside, and often in place of, efforts to desegregate the schools came a movement for "compensatory education." Pioneered by grants from foundations in the late 1950's and early 1960's, and fueled by large Federal sums under Title I of ESEA, compensatory education was designed to improve the academic achievement of children who did not perform well in school, especially the poor and people of color. Just as the Brown decision and desegregation were attempts to institutionalize the professed ideology of a democratic *common* school, so the compensatory education movement was an effort to make the one system work for "the culturally deprived."

By and large, psychologists and educators agreed that the reason poor children often failed in school was that they lacked certain experiences in the home and community that enabled others to succeed--in short, that they had a "cultural deficit." In 1964 an assistant superintendent in Boston explained what such deprivation meant:

> Many of these children have low aspirational levels. . . . By virtue of their limited background (they) fail to meet the expected outcomes as defined in the Curriculum Guides. . . . It is our hope to raise the achievement of these pupils closer to their potentials which have for too long been submerged by parental lack of values.

The chairman of the Boston School Board put the matter more succinctly: "We do not have inferior schools; we have been getting an inferior type of student." The problem lay in the child, not in the educational or social system.

Much of the effort of the early researchers and practitioners in compensatory education was well-intentioned, some of it successful. What most professionals took for granted was the normal science of education (which was based largely on the psychological assessment of individuals) and the one best system (which was the existing structure and basic curriculum of the urban school). The white researcher might never know that the same child who mumbled monosyllables in the classroom could also play imaginatively with words when rapping with friends on the street corner. The high school teacher saw a child who struggled with mathematics in the high school; she did not know that he might be the statistician for the numbers racket on his block. The mismatch in the culture of the school and the culture of the community, apparent to the ethnologist, might show itself only as "deprivation" in the classroom. But Kenneth Clark saw the cultural deficit model as a cruel alibi, a new version of an old myth:

> Just as those who proposed earlier racial inferiority theories were invariably members of the dominant racial groups who represented themselves to be superior, those who at present propose the cultural deprivation theory are in fact members of the privileged group who inevitably associate their privileged status with their own innate intellect and its related educational success.

For the most part, the effort and funds poured into compensatory education did not result in the goal of increased academic achievement (although later, more sophisticated efforts as in some Head Start programs and in the Upward Bound program did show gains). As ghetto parents learned about the low achievement scores and continued failures of their children, they increasingly lost faith in the expertise of the professionals. What they had feared was simply a personal misfortune--that their child could not read--was revealed to be a public problem of epidemic proportions. A joke made the rounds among blacks in New York: "What do you think of education in Harlem?" asked one parent. "I think it would be a good idea," replied the other. Those of a more bitter cast of mind began to talk of deliberate educational genocide.

By the mid-1960's, there was a new mood among the dispossessed. As Langston Hughes said, when a dream is too long deferred, it may explode. The hopes and expectations of the poor and people of color had been raised by the civil rights movement and by the "war on poverty." The Brown decision had promised that the common school might finally include all children--but whites resisted. The professionals had said that with more money and attention they could improve schooling for the educationally outcast--but reading scores continued to decline. Hope shifted to disillusionment and anger, and bitter rhetoric and violence escalated.

A crisis of authority was at hand, especially in urban education, one which questioned both the traditional goals and the practice of public schooling. The crisis was not limited to minority communities but spread elsewhere, causing new doubts among educators and laymen alike about the validity of familiar ideas and institutions.

One reason for the depth of concern was the mushrooming literature of criticism. Earlier periods of reform had their muckrakers, like Joseph Rice of the 1890's, but the volume and impact of the new exposees were unprecedented. Best sellers like Up the Down Staircase and Our Children Are Dying ranged in tone from satire to flagellating anger, while dozens of lesser-known books and articles laid bare the faults of unresponsive bureaucracies, the despair or suffering of those at the bottom of the social and educational system, the violence in city schools, the awesome consequences of educational failure. In this literature tales of success were few and reforms often abortive.

In addition to these vivid and popular accounts, the 1960's produced many sober and detailed studies like the Coleman Report and Racial Isolation in the Schools. Cities and States released figures on the achievement levels of different districts, schools, and student populations--data which heretofore had been largely a secret of the bureaucracies. Such studies revealed that despite efforts at compensatory education the children of the poor and depressed minority groups tended to fall further behind in academic achievement in each year of schooling.

Such evidence and popular literature has appeared at a point in time when parents and policy makers alike are newly aware that schooling has become crucial as a gateway to desirable employment. Increasingly the United States has become a credentials society--a development Ivar Berg dubs "the great training robbery"--and employers show little disposition to relent in their demand for educational requirements for employees. Hence schooling has consequences undreamed of during the 19th century; today educational failure condemns most dropouts to low-level jobs or unemployment.

This new public awareness of the failings and the significance of education has created a strong tension between the traditional ideal and the perceived actuality of urban education, especially among the "culturally different." In theory the American common school was to be free, under public control, mixing all classes together, and providing equality of opportunity. The ghetto parent sees that his child's school is segregated, that he has little voice in determining school policies, and that his child will graduate woefully ill-prepared to compete in a complex technological society.

As a result, many members of outcast groups are demanding community control by their own people in place of the traditional corporate model of governance which sought to rise above "interest groups"; they are substituting self-determination as a goal instead of assimilation; and they are rejecting "equality" if that means Anglo-conformity, sameness, and familiar failure in the "one best system." And many members of the so-called "mainstream culture" are arguing that the pluralism of the society should be reflected in the schools, that all students and parents should have a greater degree of choice among alternative forms of schooling.

Because of the current crisis of authority some observers have claimed that Americans are today witnessing the collapse of American public education, at least in the large cities. They have argued that both a new ideology and new institutions are necessary. Some have proposed that all parents be given educational vouchers for their children's schooling in order to create an open market for free education--in effect, a return to the older notion of attending the school of your choice, except that the school would be subsidized by public money and would be free. Others have suggested that instruction be contracted to agencies outside the public schools, such as business corporations.

Although we recognize the depth of the current crisis in popular education, we do not agree with the view that the public schools are like the walls of Jericho, ready to tumble at the blast of some critic's trumpet. We also do not believe that any of the major structural alternatives to the present pattern of public education--such as vouchers or performance contracting--are either realistic or desirable. But we do advocate comprehensive reform of public schooling and a searching reexamination of assumptions: (1) about the role of schooling in creating equality; (2) about participation in educational decisionmaking; (3) about cultural pluralism and educational policy; and (4) about alternative models of education within the public school system. Thus our response to the crisis of authority in public education is to reinterpret--and we hope to reinvigorate--the common school in terms appropriate to the 1970's.

We believe that it is important to have a realistic understanding of the limits of schooling in promoting equality within American society, for public education has often been oversold as the answer to problems beyond its scope. During the 19th century most schoolmen thought that the task of the common school was to impart certain basic knowledge and skills, coupled with training in citizenship and morality. With this basic equipment each individual would then be prepared for the contests of life. Early reformers also believed that such schooling could mitigate or eliminate poverty, intemperance, crime, and social conflict. At the turn of the century many leading schoolmen recognized that urban-industrial America was highly stratified and concluded that the role of schooling was to sort children and prepare them for their different roles in the economy. At the same time they accepted a much broadened notion of the social functions of schooling to include training for leisure, health, and citizenship, as well as vocational effectiveness.

In the last two decades schools have again been asked to assume much of the burden of eradicating poverty and bringing outcast groups into full participation in American life. Equality in schooling was once thought of as similarity of educational input; in recent years many educators have begun to realize that schools serving the poor need more than equal resources to work effectively, and some have even talked of equality of output--of academic achievement--as a goal to pursue. Although we believe that schools need much more money to provide adequate education for the person at the bottom of the social system, we also are convinced that schooling alone cannot work the miracles expected of it. Only a concerted attack on inequality which couples schooling with other changes such as new patterns of employment and income distribution can mitigate the gross disparities of living standards in the Nation. In the meantime, schools should concentrate on what they can do best; equipping children with the basic knowledge and skills they need in order to survive and advance in the larger society.

With regard to participation in educational decisionmaking, we believe that it is time to reconsider a long-term trend to give increasing power to the professional by "taking the school out of politics." A little over a decade ago a liberal schoolman could indict local control as the chief cause for "dull parochialism and attenuated totalitarianism" in American education, but recently citizens have become aware of the costs of the inertia and red tape of vast school bureaucracies and the benefits of community participation in school policies. As we have indicated in chapter 3 (Larry Cuban's essay), we advocate experiments in increased involvement of parents and other lay persons in setting educational policies.

We turn now to cultural pluralism in educational policy. A result of increased community participation in school governance may well be greater differentiation of instruction to meet the self-defined needs of various groups. This could produce school systems which reflect the ethnic pluralism of the society rather than ones which largely seek to assimilate children to an Anglo-conformist model. In the past, groups which had power over educational policies consistently tried to affirm their values in the school curriculum: German parents in Cincinnati wanted their children to study their native language in public elementary schools; Protestants wanted teachers to read the King James Bible in class; the

Irish wanted to remove textbooks which impugned the Emerald Isle. Groups which lacked influence over school policies often saw their cultures and values ignored or scorned. We believe that schools should affirm the value of social diversity and attempt to enhance a sense of identity and pride in ethnic heritage rather than judge all groups by their approximation to a white, middle-class model. This may mean that a particular Chicano school may have a bicultural curriculum; another school may fit instruction to the learning styles of black children and teach about Afro-American culture. At the same time we reiterate that the school should focus primarily on its central task of imparting the knowledge and skills required for successful functioning in the public world of jobs, political expression and power, and other spheres in which citizens of different backgrounds need to intersect with each other.

Increased public participation and a new spirit of cultural pluralism will doubtless create alternative forms of public education in place of a "one best system" decreed by experts. Generating these alternative forms of public schooling will demand a new frame of mind on the part of those involved. There are many obstructions in the way of innovation: State codes that restrict freedom; administrators and teachers who sabotage the new because they fear it; alienated students who destroy even what they have helped to create; parents who distrust change. But time and skill can diminish such obstacles when the prime constituencies--the students, parents, and teachers--realize that they can together create meaningful choices. The basic goals of a democratic common school can be reinterpreted for our era, and the institutions of public education once again changed, if Americans have the wisdom and the will.

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Chapter 2

THE SELECTION OF VARIABLES FOR SCHOOL REFORM

by

Del Schalock
Oregon System of Higher Education

The initiation of school reform requires change in the status quo. If a school is unable to bring about the learning outcomes desired in some portion of its pupils, something has to be done. In all likelihood trying harder to do better what is already being done will not be enough.

Unfortunately, stating the obvious is not particularly helpful. The teaching and administrative staffs of schools that are failing in their responsibility to students know that something needs to be changed, as do school board members, parents, pupils, and everyone else who thinks about the matter. The basic problem does not rest in recognizing the need for change, but in knowing what to change in order to bring about improved learning. Should change be made in the kind of teachers or administrators that are hired, the curriculums that are implemented, the materials purchased, the utilization of staff and student time, or should it be something less directly linked to pupil learning, such as increased community involvement in the governance of the schools, raising teachers' salaries, implementing a voucher system, or decentralizing administration within a district? It is probably fair to say that anything anyone has been able to think of as a means of improving the performance of schools has been tried at least once, either as part of an ongoing school program or as an experiment outside the schools. Despite such widespread and continuing efforts, nothing has emerged that guarantees successful learning for all children in all contexts. As a consequence, even when schools want to change they have few trustworthy guidelines or proven alternatives to help them on their way.

With our knowledge and technical base in education as it is, the performance of our schools is probably no better or worse than can be expected. If such is the case a number of implications would seem to follow. The overriding implication is that schools probably will not be able to do much better than they are now doing until our knowledge about school-based learning and our technology for facilitating it are both improved and made generally available. There are two follow-up implications: (1) to achieve these ends massive research, development and diffusion (R, D, & D) efforts must be undertaken at a level of sophistication that exceeds our efforts in these areas in the past; and (2) while schools are waiting for the results of R, D, & D to reach critical mass, they must themselves engage in the pursuit of reform. The first conclusion follows from the fact that man has not yet invented a means of obtaining reliable knowledge other than through research, that he has not yet invented a means of obtaining reliable technology other than through development, and that he has not yet invented a means for reliably implementing new knowledge and technology into organized programs other than through the utilization of diffusion strategies, i.e., dissemination of information, demonstration, trial, and support in implementation. As time-consuming and costly as these activities may be, there are no known substitutes for them when that which is needed is a knowledge and technological base sufficient to the solution of problems that do not yield to the history of experience.[1]

A second conclusion follows from the fact that morally and politically schools cannot continue to do that which they are doing in light of the overwhelming evidence of their failure. They must devise new strategies, invent new programs, and even create new models of schooling in an effort to do better. They must try all these out in a way that yields trustworthy information about that which has been tried so that they and others may profit from such efforts. To do less at this point is unthinkable but to do more is impossible until the knowledge and technological base available to the profession is extended.

Again, as in the case of recognizing the need for change, recognizing the need for large-scale R, D, & D efforts or large-scale school reform efforts is not particularly helpful. The need for both has been recognized for a long period of time, and both kinds of efforts have been pursued for a long time. What is needed is a better set of ideas as to what needs to be changed within the school settings to obtain desired outcomes in children and, once discovered, how to proceed to institute those changes in schools across the Nation. These are the central issues that face both the R, D, & D community and the on-line school community. Until progress has been made on both fronts the goals of school reform must of necessity remain unmet.

The Interdependence of the Goals of School Reform, the Operational Definitions Assigned Those Goals, and the Variables[2] to be Manipulated in Achieving Them

The first step in the process of selecting the dimensions of school context to be manipulated in R, D, & D or "on-line" school reform efforts was to become clear about what was to be manipulated in the proposed reform effort (the experimental, treatment or input variables) and what was to be measured as a consequence (the dependent, outcome or output variables). This required a clear recognition of the interdependence of the desired outcomes that were to be defined and measured operationally, and the variables to be manipulated in hopes of achieving the desired goal states. This initial step also required a careful sorting of the linkages between the influence variables to be proposed for manipulation in the reform effort and the desired goal state(s). The concern over clarity at this level can be illustrated through the following examples:

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[1] Fortunately, with the creation of the National Institute of Education, the maturing of the federally funded Laboratories and R and D Centers, and the move to extend our knowledge of the R, D, & D process within the context of education (see Schalock et al., 1972), the conceptual and institutional base needed to support the kind of R, D, & D thrust that is needed in education is now becoming available.

[2] As used here and in the pages that follow, the word "variable"

Suppose the goal of school reform was stated as "the equalization of educational opportunity" and that was defined operationally as "the equivalence of school services" for all children in a school, a district, a State, or the Nation. Given such a goal, the variables selected for manipulation in attempting to reach it would be of particular kind, and they would be manipulated in a particular way. Assuming "school services" to include physical space and surroundings, administrative and instructional staff, instructional materials, peer interests and capabilities, etc., the variables to be manipulated would involve such things as the equalization of per pupil expenditures for instruction, the modernization of buildings, the random distribution of instructional and administrative staff, the busing of pupils, etc., as well as the creation of the political and reorganizational structures that would permit such actions to be taken. Persons responsible for the administration of such a program would look to the equality of per pupil expenditures for instruction, equality of staff distribution with respect to competence, etc., when assessing the success of the program. There is nothing inherent in the goal statement or its definition that would lead to the necessity of looking to the learning outcomes of pupils for evidence of program success.

Suppose, however, that the same goal statement (equality of educational opportunity) was defined operationally as "the provisions of school services that give all children in the Nation an equal opportunity to learn," or as "the assurance that all children in the Nation will achieve a level of learning in the early years of school that will provide them full and equal access to the secondary and post secondary educational opportunities that exist within the Nation." In the first instance, since the goal of reform is still in terms of school services

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stands for a broad "class" of variables rather than a single variable of the kind that would be manipulated in a standard research project. In this sense the term is interchangeable with the concept of a "dimension" of the school context that if changed could follow the term and takes on refined meaning, for each chapter attempts to spell out for a class variable the dimensions within it that are manipulable within a school reform effort.

the variables to be manipulated in carrying out the reform effort would probably be the same as those in the previous example, but they would both be manipulated in the same way. Assuming that children with learning handicaps require a greater per child expenditure of resources to facilitate their learning than children without such handicaps, school services would be manipulated so as to favor the children who are handicapped. Thus, the per pupil expenditure per handicapped child could conceivably double that of the nonhandicapped; the teaching and administrative staff working with the handicapped could be the most competent within the system; the pupil-teacher ratio could be 5:1 for the handicapped and 30:1 for the nonhandicapped; and so on. In the second instance, where the goals of reform are defined in terms of pupil learning rather than distribution of school services, the variables to be manipulated in effecting reform may be the same as those cited earlier, e.g., per pupil expenditure, staff competence, pupil-teacher ratio, or they may be different, e.g., the utilization of special instructional materials or special instructional strategies. The way in which such variables would be treated, however, and the criteria that would be used to judge the success of the program would be markedly different, for when the goal of school reform is stated in terms of pupil outcomes evidence as to the realization of those outcomes becomes the criterion for judging program success, and the nature and distribution of school services are treated simply as the means to those ends. When pupil outcome criteria are operating, school services, in effect, become the variables to be manipulated within a reform effort and are, in fact, achieved.[3]

So much for examples. Hopefully, however, they reinforce two points: (1) what one wishes to achieve determines in large part what one does to achieve it and (2) in an arena as complex as that of the linkage between school services and pupil outcomes the task of being clear about that which is to be manipulated and that which is to be achieved becomes inordinately illusive. The first point is an inescapable consequence of the rules of logic. The second is an inescapable consequence of the degree of complexity that characterizes the process of education, and the extent of the conceptual muddle that characterizes thinking about education. Both should serve to alert the reader to the necessity of assessing carefully the legitimacy of the linkages that have been made between input and output variables in the pages that follow.

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[3] At one level the provision of a particular school service in a reform effort that has as its goal the realization of specified learning outcomes in children could be thought of as a desired outcome of the program, but only as a "facilitory" or "instructional" outcome, not a focal outcome. This points up the context-specific nature of variable specification. In the context of one reform effort a variable (for example, the possession of a particular teaching skill by a group of teachers) may be treated as a dependent or outcome variable, i.e., the desired outcome of the effort. But in another, the same variable may be treated as an independent or treatment variable. While such apparent slipping and sliding of that which is of interest can be frustrating, there isn't much that can be done about it outside the context of a particular reform effort. Recognizing the problem, however, helps protect against the confusion that forever seems to enter analyses of the kind attempted in the present document.

A Strategy for Selecting School-Linked Variables for Manipulation in Efforts to Improve School-Based Learning

A necessary first step in undertaking an effort in school reform is to be clear, generally, as to what is to be manipulated in the effort, and what is to be measured as outcome. It is only the first of many such steps. Hard on its heels is the task of selecting, from among the essentially endless number of variables within a school context that influence pupil learning, those likely to produce differences in effecting reform. Given the realities of limited resources, limited time, limited knowledge, limited freedom to choose, and limited alternatives from which to choose, what variables can be manipulated and offer the most hope of effecting the kind of pupil learning desired as a consequence of reform within the context of a school?

Three steps are taken in dealing with this question. First, a framework permits the various classes of variables that potentially influence school learning to be ordered with respect to one another and the learning outcomes desired of pupils. The framework functions essentially as a map of an area or territory for it makes it possible to locate the particular class variables being considered in physical space and hold them there while considering their respective merits. Second, a set of criteria is established that is to be used in selecting from these possible influence variables those that seemed most promising to manipulate within the context of the school reform effort being proposed. Finally, choice is made as to the class variables that fit best the criteria that have been established. These became the influence variables that are recommended for manipulation in the proposed reform effort. The balance of the present paper describes these three steps, and the class variables identified through them.

A Framework for Ordering School-Linked Variables That Are Assumed to Influence School-Based Learning

By choosing to focus in the proposed reform effort on only those influence variables that can be manipulated by the schools, the range and number of such variables that had to be attended in the selection process is sharply reduced. Even so, the range and number of variables that have still to be considered is large. To name only a few, there are the multiple dimensions of curriculum and instructional procedures, discipline procedures, teacher competences, teacher attitudes, teacher interests, teacher energy and time, organizational and administrative arrangements, incentives and the availability of external resources. Obviously some choice has to be made from among such variables, for given realistic constraints of time, energy, and money, all cannot be manipulated with equal care. All probably should not be, for it is difficult to imagine that all are equally harmful in influencing pupil learning, and thus equally worthy of manipulation within the context of the kind of reform effort being proposed. How are the merits of such variables to be determined? How are the interdependences that exist between them to be established; for example, the interdependence of instructional procedures and teacher competencies? If they could be established, what would be done with such information? Because of their convoluted and interwoven linkages to learning outcomes, it is best to establish a framework that would begin to sort some of these linkages out and hold them still long enough to let them be considered in detail. No illusions were held as to the long term utility of such a frame, but at the same time it was recognized that some structure has to be established in order to talk meaningfully to one another and to others about that which was being considered.

Building on a recent paper by Gagne (1970) a schema evolves which orders the influence variables of concern on the basis of the directness of their influence on school-based learning outcomes. In terms of the organizing rule of the schema the closer an influence variable is to the point of contact between a learner and the elements of the environment with which he is interacting as he is learning, or, in Gagne's terms, the more proximal a variable is to that point, the more direct its influence upon that learning of some class variables upon school-based learning, can be seen as being relatively direct. Examples include curricula, materials and instructional procedures. The influence of other variables, however, can be seen as relatively indirect. Examples here include school governance, management, and salary structure. With this as a point of reference, the schema and the influence variables that have been classified within it are shown in Figure 1. Figure 2 attempts to depict the variables presented in Figure 1 in a more dynamic relationship.

	School-Linked Variables that Indirectly Influence School-Based Learning	School-Linked Variables that Instrumentally Influence School-Based Learning	School-Linked Variables that Directly Influence School-Based Learning	
Factors over which a school has little or no control that interact forcefully with the conditions over which a school does have control to influence school-based learning.	The governance of a school	The knowledge, skills, sensitivities, attitudes, commitments and demonstrated competencies of teaching personnel	The curricula, materials, and instructional procedures that are "public" within a school	The learning outcomes for which a school has been designated responsible
	The management or administration of a school			
	The reward system of a school	The knowledge, skills, sensitivities, attitudes, commitments and demonstrated competencies of administration personnel		
	The resource base of a school			
	Personnel development programs within a school	The mores, rituals, myths, symbols and norms that constitute the "culture" of a school	The curricula, materials, and instructional procedures that are "private" within a school	
	Conditions within a school which affect the performance of school personnel or affect the content and operation of the school culture	Characteristics of the personnel or culture of a school that translate or give substance of both the public and private learning environments within a school	Elements that in combination constitute the immediate learning environments of pupils in a school	

Figure 1. A schema for ordering dimensions of the school environment that influence school-based learning, and over which a school has some control.

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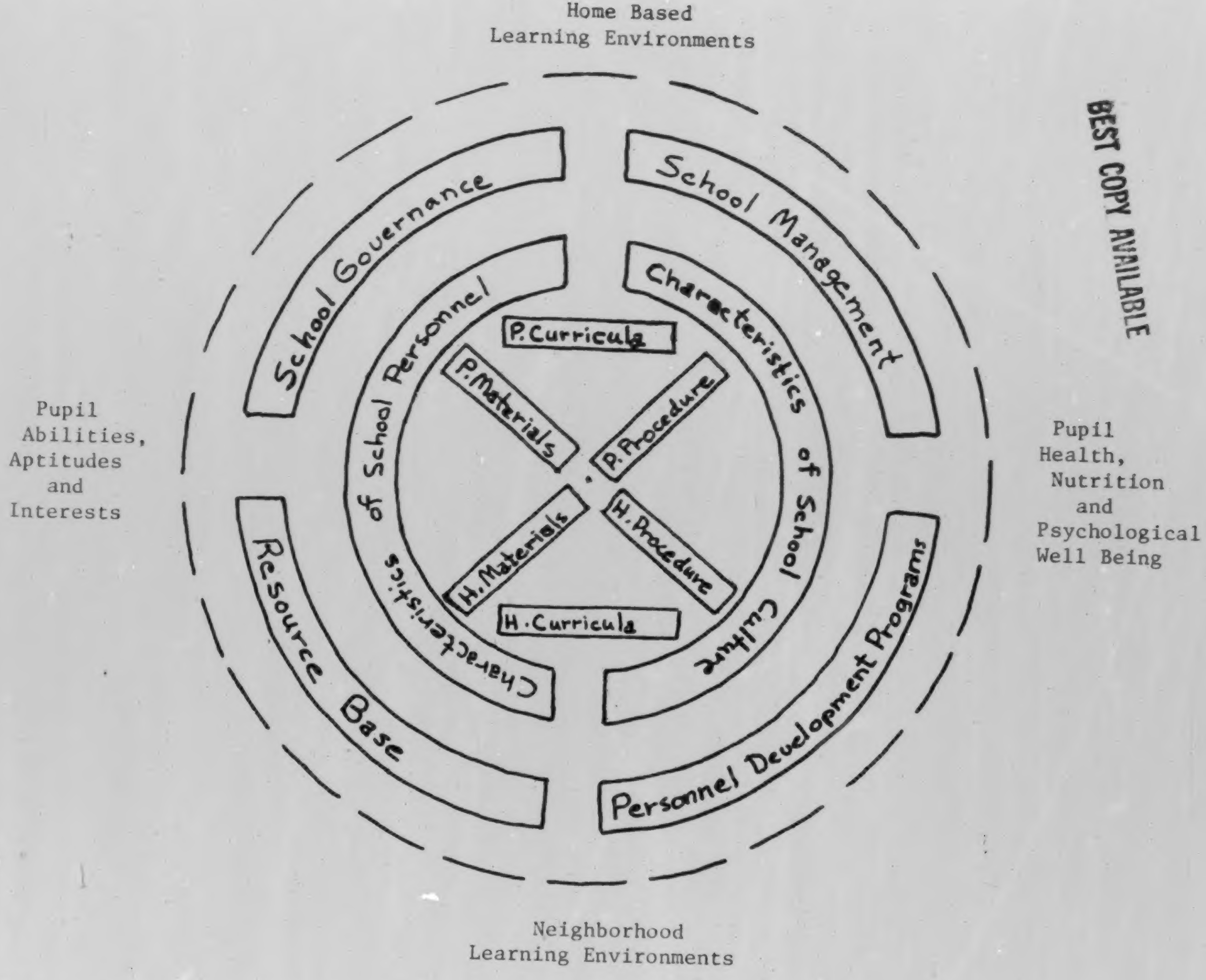
Home Based
Learning Environments
Pupil
Abilities,
Aptitudes
and
Interests
Pupil
Health,
Nutrition
and
Psychological
Well Being
Neighborhood
Learning Environments
School Governance
School Management
Resource Base
Personnel Development Programs
Characteristics of School Personnel
Characteristics of School Culture
P. Curricula
P. Materials
P. Procedure
H. Materials
H. Procedure
H. Curricula

Figure 2. A schema that attempts to illustrate the nature of the interactions between the variables listed in Figure 1, and the interaction of these in turn with extra school variables, as they influence school-based learning at a particular point in time.

Three observations need to be made with respect to Figure 1. First, the classes of influence variables listed are not intended to be exhaustive. Likewise they are not advanced as the "best possible" set of categories for conceptualizing school-linked sources of influence upon learning. The categories have some degree of face validity, however, and arguments have been able to be built for their inclusion as dimensions of schooling worthy of manipulation in reform but as yet they have no empirical verification. They represent simply a first approximation to a hopefully productive way to look at the dimensions of schooling that influence the pupil outcomes.

The other two observations to be made about Figure 1 deal, respectively, with the extent to which the school exercises control over the class variables listed and the relationship between directness of influence and strength of influence. With respect to the first, it is clear that degree of control varies depending upon the class variable being considered. It is also clear that the conditions that give rise to a lack of control differ depending upon the variable being considered. The "hidden" curriculum of a school, for example, is less under the control of a school than its published curriculum (though the latter, obviously, is not fully under the control of a school either) for schools generally have no effective means of either combating or enhancing the private agendas of staff or the public or private agendas of students. It is assured, however, that a school has some degree of control over all of the class variables listed in Figure 1, and, as a consequence, is in a position of being able to manipulate them in the course of a reform effort. No assumptions are being made about the relationship between the directness and the strength of influence.

Little needs to be said about Figure 2 beyond the complexity of the interaction it points to between the variables being considered and the complexity of the interaction between those variables and the extra-school variables that interact with them to determine the outcomes of school-based learning. When considered together the complexity of the areas in which we are operating can begin to be perceived in its fullness.

The Criteria Used In Selecting The School-Linked Variables That Appear Most Promising As Manipulable Sources of Influence on School-Based Learning[4]

Four criteria were used in screening influence variables for inclusion in the set of variables that was to be recommended for manipulation in the proposed reform effort. These were:

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[4] Up to this point in the chapter what has been written has matched fairly closely with what has been done. In this section is presented what might still be done. The criteria that have been outlined, the

1. the directness of linkage to the learning outcomes desired;
2. the perceived significance of the variable compared to other variables being considered;
3. the empirically demonstrated significance of the variable compared to other variables being considered; and
4. the degree of control the schools have over the variable, i.e., the extent to which they can manipulate the variable if they chose to do so.

All variables screened were able to be linked to pupil learning on logical grounds, and were assumed to be under some degree of control by the schools. All were approximately the same level of generality, that is, all were considered to be class variables.[5]

Fifteen class variables that met the basic criteria of a logical linkage to school learning and being under some degree of control by the schools were referenced for selection purposes against the four criteria listed above. Three steps were involved in this process: (a) each of the institute members independently assigned a value of 1, 2, or 3 to each of the four selection criteria (a value of 1 being low) for each of the fifteen variables being considered; (b) a consensus value of 1, 2, or 3 was established for each of the fifteen variables for each of the four criteria, using the independently assigned values as a point of departure; and (c) a rank order was calculated for the fifteen variables on the basis of the sum of the consensus values established for each variable. The ten variables that ranked highest as a result of this process, and the consensus values that accompanied them, appear in Table 1 (these are the same variables that appeared in Figure 1).

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procedures suggested for their use in the selection process, and the data appearing in Table 1 have been created for illustrative purposes only.

[5] The latter was obviously an arbitrary judgment since classification schemes that depend for their derivation upon logical analysis alone are as often artifacts of their creators as they are valid reflections of what they are intended to represent. The "class" variables that appear in Figure 1 are no more and no less than labels created by the members of the Summer Institute to identify what was felt to be a productive way of "slicing the pie" that is called schooling. Another institute, or the same institute starting over again, would in all likelihood have sliced the pie differently.

Table 1. Influence variables recommended for manipulation in the proposed school reform effort, ranked according to the "payoff" they are likely to have for school learning, and the criterion ratings that form the basis for that ranking.*

Influence Variable	Directness of Linkage	Perceived Significance	Empirically Demonstrated Significance	Degree of Control	Sum of Value Assignment
1. Characteristics of Teaching Personnel	2	3	3	2	10
2. Curricula, Materials, and Procedures: Public	3	3	2	2	10
3. Characteristics of Administrative Personnel	2	3	1	2	8
4. School Governance	1	3	1	2	7
5. School Management	1	3	1	2	7
6. Personnel Development Programs (Inservice)	1	3	1	2	7
7. Curricula, Materials, and Procedures: Hidden	3	2	1	2	7
8. Economic Base	1	2	2	1	7
9. Mores, Rituals, Myths, Symbols, and Norms	2	1	1	2	6
10. Reward System for Personnel	1	2	1	1	6

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*The data that appear in the table reflect the consensus judgment of raters asked to assign values of 1 and 3 to each criterion for each variable, where the value of 1 was low.

PART II

Indirect Variables

Chapter 3

GOVERNANCE OF SCHOOLS

by

Larry Cuban
District of Columbia Public Schools

Power attracts people. While political scientists seldom agree over the meaning of power, laymen often see it in simple terms: getting the other person to do something he doesn't want to. Such clout fascinates powerless minority groups struggling for a piece of an institution's decisionmaking machinery, professionals battling for a share in policymaking, or individuals who dream of controlling their destiny. Such people dismiss the truism that power corrupts since they know from experience that powerlessness also is corrupting. One crucial facet of the current debate over reform of schools involves a clash between those who see themselves as powerless to effect changes in the schooling of children and those who wish to remain in control of the system.

School reformers anxious to mend deep tears in the fabric of public confidence in the schools maintain that if school governance were either patched or rewoven criticism bombarding urban schools would diminish and ultimately disappear. They further contend that schooling would improve. The issue to all reformers is simply: how can the power to determine policy be redistributed to make public schools more responsive to the people and more effective with children?

Any analysis of possible changes in governance should carefully examine the conditions that produced the verdict of failure, the assumptions undergirding those proposed changes and the problems of deciding which direction reformers should pursue.

Who Runs the Schools?

At the simplest level, the answer is the State. Through legislation, the State mandates minimum standards of attendance, what is to be taught, and a host of other specifications. With the exception of Hawaii, no State operates its own school system. Authority is delegated to the hundreds of local school districts in each State. Most local boards are independent of the county or city government they serve to the point of taxing residents, selling bonds, and managing its own fiscal affairs. A local school board will hire its own superintendent and charge him to administer the policies the board has chosen to make. Through State delegated power, the school board and its hired chief executive then run the schools. Yet even this is an incomplete answer.

School boards and superintendents are restrained from doing as they wish. Periodic elections of school board members and tax referendums replace old board members and policies with new ones. Outside of each district, the State legislature, national professional organizations, the Federal Government, as well as larger social and economic conditions, cast a web of influence that limits the control of local school district policymaking process.

Although they are restricted in many important ways, the local board and superintendent still manage to determine who gets what, when, and how. This means, for example, that in Chicago over a quarter of a billion dollars a year must be allocated to the schooling of a half-million children. How should the money be best spent? On what programs? On which students? How? More teachers? More computers? More staff development? Less driver education? Less organized athletics? Different reading programs? Different math instruction? Decisions on these and hundreds of other matters must be made by the Chicago Board of Education and thousands of other school districts.

All of these decisions involve choices between alternatives. Determining which direction to go means that limited funds will be spent on some things and not others. No school district has ever publicly said it has had sufficient funds to run its schools. Policy is a critical decision on an issue or course of action that implements the values of one specific group of people. A policy choice implies what direction should be followed. The decision, for example, that sex education should become part of the district's curriculum means that its advocates values (i.e., knowledge of sexual growth, relationships, and attitudes ought to be taught in the schools) took precedence over the values of its opponents (i.e., that such knowledge ought not to be taught in schools). The constant battering and bumping between those participating in policymaking is an effort to arrive at a decision over whose values should be implemented on a specific issue. This is politics. The political process results in policies that allocate the resources of the school district.

Participants in Policymaking

While the school board and superintendent in a local school district are key participants in making policy, they are not alone. Each school district has a set of core participants that determine distribution. Depending upon the size and location, the list differs. In big cities the usual participants are:

- Board of Education
- Superintendent
- Central office administration
- Field administrators

- Municipal officials, e.g., mayor and city council
- Special interest groups, e.g., League of Women Voters, civil rights groups, PTA's, business groups, community organizations, etc.

Clearly the board has statutory power to make policy yet each of the above participants exercises differing amounts of influence on particular issues in various localities. The issue of including more ethnic content in the curriculum may have been raised and pushed by a coalition of special interest groups. Pressured for a policy, the board turns to its executive officer who in turn requests his director of curriculum to prepare a statement on the needs for more ethnic content in the curriculum and program for implementing such a policy. The director of curriculum prepares a document which the superintendent presents to the board. The board, after questioning certain details and making some modifications, adopts as both policy and program the superintendent's recommendation. In another locale, the mayor may set a ceiling on what the school board can spend and then have his budget officer inspect and modify the school system's proposed budget. In the process of making policy some core participants may wield heavy informal influence; others may only support or react to proposed policies; and in some places only a few participate.

A number of researchers have placed the amount of participation in the process of making policy on a continuum. At one end is a CLOSED form of policymaking. When a board or professional schoolmen have the most influence in making policy and participation is limited to ratifying decisions, then the process is considered a closed one. At the other end of the continuum is a WIDE process in which all of the above core participants, especially those interest groups concerned with more than education, help shape policy by wielding differing amounts of influence. In the middle, there is LIMITED process which includes the board, professionals, municipal officials and occasional interest groups.[1]

What Troubles The Schools?

In the last decade who makes policy and under what conditions have been defined as the key issues to be resolved if schools are to be basically reformed. Conclusions of academicians, lay reformers and professionals read like an indictment. A sampling:

> It is somewhat ironic that public education, which has been nursed on the theories of participatory democracy of John Dewey, has over the years become

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[1] Marilyn Gittell and T. E. Hollander, Six Urban School Districts (New York: Praeger, 1968), pp. 53, 196.

> perhaps the most non-public of governmental services. Public school systems have removed decisionmaking from the agents closest to the school child--the teachers and parents, violating traditionally established goals of public education. The concept of public accountability has been abandoned. The school professionals have convinced the various public interests that only they are qualified to make policy....A small core of school people controls decisions for public education in every large city.[2]

> [School professionals] define alternatives, produce research, provide specific policy recommendations, and recommend from the agenda. In these and many other ways, professionals generate...pressures and information that shape the board's deliberations and policy decisions....Moreover, many specific policy issues may never reach the school board if the superintendent and his staff are acting under broad discretion from the school board.[3]

Now as one writer has put it, "The search for a villain comes to focus on the organization of the system itself."[4] Similarly, over a half-century ago the system's organization was seen as the villain. In the 1890's, reformers believed that the ward system of election to the board of education encouraged both narrow provincialism and nasty partisan politics and that subcommittees of boards of education were inefficient and ineffective in administering school systems. Solution? Rid education of politics by electing board members at large, consolidate the executive function into a superintendency and centralize administrative functions. By the turn of the century, school reformers' arguments echoed slogans of the time: nonpolitical control, centralization, standardization, and professionalism.

More recent analyses of school problems focused on different issues. Sputnik spurred the Nation to conclude that Russia was superior to this country because of the deficits in American teachers. Funds were, consequently, allocated to improve teacher salaries and training in the name of national defense. The discovery of the ethnic poor and the apparent decay of the urban school in the early and mid-60's led to studies that concluded that "cultural deprivation" of the child was the problem. Compensatory education emerged as a solution.

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Michael Kirst and Frederick Wirt, The Web of Schools (Little, Brown, 1972), p. 85.

[4] Leonard Fein, "Community Schools and Social Theory: The Limits of Universalism," in Henry Levin (Ed.) Community Control of Schools (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1970), p. 83.

Today, the culprits are school boards, distant and unresponsive to the clients they serve and professional school managers who monopolize both policymaking and implementation. Excessive bureaucracy has buried citizen energy in a swamp of red tape. "This giant empire (the New York City school system)," a former member of a local board said, "is almost completely insulated from public control."[5] Thus large bureaucracies, professional control over policymaking, and isolation of board and professionals from citizen influence combine to make urban schools unresponsive to their clients.

But this indictment raises a question. Why, now, are these demands for reorganization of the system being made? While the answer is complex (consider the turbulent social changes generated by the civil rights and black movements as well as national frustration over involvement in Southeast Asia), one significant piece of that answer lies in the shifting expectations of urban minorities about what schools should produce. More than functional literacy is required. Skills and knowledge, including the necessary credentials to gain access into a highly competitive, corporate America, are expected. The grim evidence reveals that urban schools don't meet those expectations.

Any current measure of student performance, reading scores on standardized achievement tests, Selective Service exams, percentage of students entering college, number of dropouts, or increasing absenteeism points to a discrepancy between what is hoped for and what occurs. Unresponsive, overcentralized governance and bureaucracy combine with deep citizen dissatisfaction with performance in urban schools which account, in large part, for the current drive to reorganize the system.

At this point, an examination of this argument is necessary. Five key issues in the argument will be examined: overcentralization of authority, unresponsive governance, bureaucracy, professional control of policymaking, and the relationship between governance and student performance.

1. Overcentralization of authority. One of the problems in dealing with this proposition is that a school system is often seen as a variant of IBM or General Motors. Terms such as "institutional overload" and "efficiency-oriented bureaucracies," while having some validity for school systems simply because they are complex organizations, do not make each big city system just another industrial bureaucracy requiring liberal doses of managerial know-how to straighten matters out. There are some characteristics of school organizations that resemble AT&T, public

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[5] Martin Mayer, "What's Wrong With Our Big City Schools," Saturday Evening Post, September 9, 1967, pp. 21-22.

bureaucracies such as hospitals, or government agencies such as the Department of Agriculture, but there are also qualities unique to school systems.

The act of teaching is both compatible and incompatible to the demands of bureaucracy. Bureaucratic skills call for impersonal behavior with clients and impartial, universal judgments. Teachers are expected to develop individual relationships with their students and judge each student separately. The superintendent is similarly pressured to respond to the demands of parents and special-interest groups; at the same time he is expected to be distant in his personal relationships with teachers and other administrators. Yet an effective superintendent knows that responsiveness to groups and warmth in relationships are crucial to running a system. These dilemmas point up the difficulty of making facile analogies with other organizational forms. They point to structural forces in schools that constantly chip away at bureaucratizing trends.

Nonetheless assume that an urban school system is approximately the same as other governmental and industrial organizations. Is it overcentralized? Few would argue that big city school systems are highly centralized in setting standards for recruiting and utilizing teachers and principals, developing curriculum, ordering supplies and dozens of other procedures. Large handbooks of regulations and procedures on administrators' desks testify to that degree of centralization. The question is what happens at the school level?

Studies and personal observation show that individual principals enjoy or dread the freedom they have in deciding whether or not to follow a central office directive. Principals interpret instructions so differently that a great deal of variation exists within a system. If a principal wished to introduce changes in a particular school, it could be done. Conversely, should a principal or administrator choose to oppose a directive, tardy implementation, minimal effort and a score of other tactics could sabotage his order. A visit to any ten schools in a big city system could verify such variation in practices.

Clearly, a similar process operates with teachers. Once the classroom door closes, individual teachers are invulnerable to rules. Great variations in method and content exist within a given school.

From this perspective, it would be inaccurate to say that the school system is overcentralized. It would be more accurate to say that decisionmaking power was fragmented into uneven pieces, some of which frustrate innovation and responsiveness, and some of which are intrinsic to the structure of a school organization.

Another way of looking at the proposition that big city systems are overcentralized is to make a distinction, as Morris Janowitz does,[6] between decisionmaking about long-term goals and administering an organization on a day-to-day basis. In certain areas such as personnel, finances, and changes in procedures, a handful of central office administrators must approve action. Bottlenecks do exist. In most areas this concentration of authority is sharply limited by State regulations which establish procedures and professional associations or special interest groups which wield influence in shaping curriculum and instruction.

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[6] Morris Janowitz, Institution Building in Urban Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 24-28.

Little organized central planning is done. Because daily crises and turmoil characterize the system, planning is done on an ad hoc basis with all the inevitable difficulties that flow from such immediate planning. Finally, the process of making policy is diffuse and shaped by a number of competing groups both inside and outside the school system. Janowitz concludes that the target of reformers--the school organization-compared to an industrial corporation, is not characterized by an overcentralized, powerful bureaucracy; but rather it is a primitive organization with power fractionalized between central office, the field, teachers, and outside influences.[7] A pyramid metaphor would not apply as well to school-system centralization as would the picture of medieval Europe with dukedoms, baronies and other fiefdoms competing for ever-narrowing slices of power.

2. Unresponsive governance. If the school system may not be the overcentralized organization critics have pictured, has it been perceived as responsive?[8] We live at a time when a surge for participation has engulfed all institutions. Administrators continue to separate themselves from parents, students, and community. Schoolmen may grumble that what they are doing is what they have always done and they are only being attacked now because schools are politically vulnerable. These grumblings don't alter perceptions.

The literature of community relations with urban schools abounds with depressing stories of school officials who ignore, distort and frustrate parental interests and concerns. Few knowledgeable observers deny the existence of a fortress psychology among many administrators. Even boards of education continue to be unrepresentative of class and race proportions in the city and schools. Were they representative, sheer size of the school district would constrict responsiveness to demands of organized interest groups. Were it not size then the universalistic standard that boards generally use in determining policies would prevent adapting to the demands of one group over another. In effect, many big city school systems have operated as closed institutions.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Responsiveness can be defined in two senses. First, that there are mechanisms and opportunities to make demands upon the system; second, that the system is influenced by public demands to make changes in the existing situation. When a system provides opportunities and modifies operations based upon public demands, it is responsive.

Even here the fractionalized power arrangements described earlier emerge. For there have been many urban schools with sensitive principals who have gained community support and ultimately its allegiance. There are some schools that do have most of their students achieving at national levels of performance; these schools enjoy the confidence of their clients.[9] Furthermore, at different times and in different places, some superintendents have initiated viable mechanisms of response to their communities beyond the usual PTA's, an office of community-school relations or citizen advisory groups. To say all this does not weaken the generalization concerning unresponsiveness. Urban schools have divorced themselves from their natural constituencies; this merely underlines the fragmentation of authority and the structural looseness that exists in big city school systems.

3. Bureaucracy and unresponsiveness. Is unresponsiveness related to the existence of bureaucracy? Probably not. The literature on bureaucracy is ambiguous on this point. The claims of reformers that bureaucracies are unable to cope with rapid, unprogrammed change, that they do not allow for personal growth or individuality and that they are inflexible in introducing new technology are just that--claims. Little evidence is presented to support these assertions.

If school systems did operate as traditional governmental or industrial bureaucracies then impersonal relations between professional and client, standardization and concentration of power at the top would be widespread and fixed. It could explain unresponsiveness. The school system does not work that way. Structural looseness, evidenced by sizable chunks of teacher and principal autonomy, little managerial knowledge and competing administrative baronies characterize urban school systems. Moreover, because of a constant conflict among schoolmen wishing to maintain professional autonomy and standards, the hard-nosed push for even more bureaucratization repeatedly stumbles.

A very strong case can be made for unresponsiveness as more closely related to the size of the organization rather than the existence of bureaucracy. Numerous studies have concluded that adaptability or receptivity to change is sharply limited by how big a school system is.[10]

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[9] The diversity of schools' political responses to neighborhood demands is documented in Harry L. Summerfield, The Neighborhood Politics of Education (Chas. Merrill, 1971).

[10] Paul Mort and Francis G. Cornell, American Schools in Transition: How Our Schools Adapt Their Practices to Changing Needs (New York:

One would expect that large school systems would have the largest bureaucracies and least responsiveness. Evidence supports this expectation; yet one critic of centralized control and an advocate of redistribution of power who studies six big city school systems said "No conclusions could be reasonably drawn to show that the level of bureaucratization influenced the adaptability of the system.[11] The point is that no clear-cut causal relationship between bureaucracy per se and responsiveness to public demands exists.

4. Professional Control of Policymaking. If professional control is defined in terms of the superintendent and his administrative staff completely dominating the formulation of policy, then this proposition seemingly needs little support. Studies on school structure and policymaking overflow with documentation of professional dominance of policymaking and insularity from public influence. Few noneducators staff top policy positions. Few outsiders, either geographically or professionally, penetrate the ranks of insiders who climb the traditional promotion ladder. Budget and personnel are securely in the hands of schoolmen. Strong superintendents usually appoint subordinates, draw up the annual budget and dominate the board of education. For many school systems, the policymaking process ranges from limited to closed on the continuum mentioned earlier.[12]

Professional control is justified by two arguments. First, interference from noneducators or municipal officials would constitute political meddling. Since the turn of the century when teachers had to pay board members to secure positions and nepotism reigned, schoolmen have successfully convinced the public that schools should be apolitical, i.e., uncontaminated by patronage or ward politics. The second argument is expertise, a technical proficiency for schooling children and administering the operation; professionals possess competence.

Both arguments for professional dominance add up to an ideology for professional autonomy. These arguments have come under attack. Critics point to the fact that any policymaking, regardless of the

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Teachers College Press, 1941); Donald Ross, Administration for Adaptability (New York: Metropolitan School Study, 1958); Harvey A. Averch, et al., How Effective is Schooling?: A Critical Review and Synthesis of Research Findings (RAND, 1972).

[11] Gittell and Hollander, op. cit.

[12] Laurence Iannacone and Frank Lutz, Politics, Power and Policy; Governing of Local School Districts (Chas. Merrill, 1970); Marilyn Gittell and T. Hollander, Six Urban School Districts (Center for Urban Education, 1967); Roscoe Martin, Government and the Suburban School (Syracuse University Press, 1962); Alan Rosenthal, Pedagogues

institution, is an intensely political process. Furthermore, by establishing a myth of nonpolitics, school managers have carved out a domain which they can control. Worse yet, schoolmen have cut themselves off from essential sources of support in the community. Finally, the competence of school officials to make policy decisions has been questioned. The technical expertise so loudly proclaimed by professionals has made little impact upon the schooling of ethnic minorities and the poor. Why trust them?

Adding fuel to the attack is the tension developing over the public's restricted accessibility to and influence over professional decisionmakers. Given the large share of revenues that go to support schooling and the predominant influence that schooling has upon children, the traditional value of democratic control calls for significant lay participation. The belief is that schooling is deeply personal and parents must somehow be involved in the operation of the schools, either through a representative and responsive board of education or a multitude of other mechanisms so that the unique needs and values of the community will be reflected in the schools. According to school reformers, lay participation does not exist. On the other hand, professionals value the freedom to make educational decisions without lay interference.

Historically this conflict of values has seldom been resolved satisfactorily to either group for any period of time. An earlier spasm of reform at the turn of the century produced solutions stressing professional leadership and bureaucratic organization by slicing off chunks of power from local lay boards. School governance and organization problems were politically resolved in the early 1900's only to resurface with a vengeance a half-century later.

There does not seem to be a final solution to the tension between democratic control and professional autonomy. Different formulas for its resolution were arrived at in the past and exist now. Across the Nation the mix between the two values is diverse. Variation rather than uniformity characterizes the conflict between the values. While Chicago's Board of Education was dominated by Superintendent Benjamin Willis for over a decade, St. Louis' Board dictated the directions it wished to move to a series of superintendents. In the mid-60's for a few years under aggressive lay and professional leadership, Philadelphia and Detroit mobilized the citizenry to participate in educational decisionmaking; in the same period, citizen apathy and uninvolvement marked New York City's record. Even within a large city a principal's

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and Power (Syracuse University Press, 1969); David Rogers, 110 Livingston Street (Random House, 1968); Joseph Pois, The School Board Crisis: A Chicago Case Study (Educ. Methods, Inc., 1964); Michael Kirst and Frederick Wirt, The Political Web of Schools (Little, Brown, 1972).

lethargy or domination and public involvement varies from school to school. Suburban school districts vary similarly in the mix between democratic control and professional autonomy.

The variation in the last century toward standardization, increasing technical specialization, and highly organized technocratic society point to the continuing dominance of school managers in the policymaking process. Dominance does not mean inertia or walled-off isolation from the public. School officials know that parental complaints (a form of participation) can crest quickly into a flash flood of grievances from the community. Central office and school-level administrators aware of these volatile, episodic flash floods of sentiment are subtly pressured to modify past practices and initiate ones that will anticipate future needs. Schoolmen have responded, adapted, and institutionalized certain kinds of change.[13]

5. A Change in Governance Will Ultimately Produce Improved Student Performance. While the belief that a reform in governance will improve learning outcomes is firmly held by many reformers, there is simply no substantial body of evidence to support it. This is not to say that there is no causal relationship between community-controlled schools, teacher-controlled staff development programs, or administratively designed decentralization plans and improved learning outcomes. At present, no evidence supports the relationship. Perhaps it will emerge.

More to the point is the difficulty in establishing a connection between governance reform and achievement. The trouble is in the complexity of determining exactly what does or does not directly affect student performance.[14]

One way of simplifying this complexity is to imagine a four-floor building. Each floor or level represents certain factors that influence learning. At the first level would be those factors that make up the learning environment, i.e., curricula, instructional materials, methods of teaching, socioeconomic and ethnic composition of student body, etc. At the second level, there would be those factors that directly affect the first level, the students' learning environment. Here such things as the training, personality traits and skills of teachers and principals, culture of the school, the physical facilities exert influence. A third level influencing learning outcomes indirectly would be those factors that school personnel need to create in order for them to affect what learning occurs. Here staff development, social, psychological, and administrative support services are included. Finally at the fourth level are those factors that influence learning over which the school has little or no control such as the individual child's and teacher's inherited abilities, home and community and university preparation.

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[13] One study of educational change over the last 75 years documents the strength of externally induced change, especially when they have sufficient support. The same study concludes that instructional and curricular reforms over the past seven decades undertaken within the school system which have external support have a high probability for success. (B. O. Smith and Donald Orlosky, Educational Change, USOE).

[14] By student performance we mean those measures of student achievement that indicate successful goal accomplishment, e.g., if the acquisition of basic skills at a specified level of competence for a certain age is a goal, then determining whether or not the student has acquired those skills is a standard by which success

All of these intersect and cross-influence one another--up and down stairways in our imaginary building. Governance and the organization of the school system fall into the third level of indirect influence over learning. A shift in governance can establish certain conditions necessary for other levels of influence to take effect. At best, governance or organization reform can only indirectly influence student achievement. Community-controlled schools, advisory boards or legislatively mandated decentralization may or may not lead to improved student performance. They can lead to the establishment of conditions within which schooling can succeed. Arguments advocating each should differentiate between political and educational goals. A later section will deal with this point in more detail.

Summary

The critics' propositions that urban school systems are overcentralized, overbureaucratized and controlled by professional schoolmen thereby making the system unresponsive to the needs and demands of the clients are both supported and unsupported. There does seem to be a relationship between professional control of the policymaking process and unresponsiveness to the public. The notion of overcentralization is valid only for some functions of the school organization. Centralization of authority, alone, appears unrelated to whether or not the school system responds to the needs and concerns of its clients. Bureaucracy also does not appear to cause rigidity and inflexibility of response. The size of the organization and which functions become bureaucratized, e.g., the policymaking process or personnel procedures bears a strong relationship to responsiveness. Finally, there is no data yet to support the statement that modified governance will produce improved performance. Reform of governance could influence the factors that do determine achievement.

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is measured. Similarly, achievement is the criterion for such goals as citizenship, growth of self-esteem, etc.

Much time should be spent analyzing whether the critical steps proposed to improve the governance and organization of the system are viable and whether they are related to increasing the effectiveness of the school.

We now turn to the basic strategy recommended by many school reformers to break the perceived stranglehold professionals have on policymaking, dismantle what they describe as a Rube Goldberg bureaucracy and improve school performance: the participation of those excluded from involvement in governing and making of policy, the community, teachers, and students. This strategy raises questions as to the scope and character of the participation and what the anticipated outcomes are to be.

Participation As A Reform Strategy

During the 1968 French student riots, a popular poster conjugated the verb "participate."

> I participate
> You participate
> He, she, it participates
> We participate
> You participate
> They profit[15]

The poster reflects the fear that participation is empty unless a meaningful distribution of power occurs. In effect, participation means citizen, teacher, or student power. Rather than blur the word participation and use it ambiguously, a diagram of the word's different meanings would help. The following typology graphically illustrates the different meanings of participation in relation to power. A cautionary note: this is a simplistic diagram that does not capture shades and tones; its purpose is to show gradation, a fact often missed by both planners and the planned for.[16]

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[15] Sherry Arnstein, "Eight Rungs in the Citizen Participation Ladder," Citizen Participation: A Case Book in Democracy, Edgar Cahn and Barry Passett (Eds.), (New Jersey Action Training Institute, 1970), pp. 336-338.

[16] Subtle differences for socioeconomic class, and for programs are also missing from the ladder.

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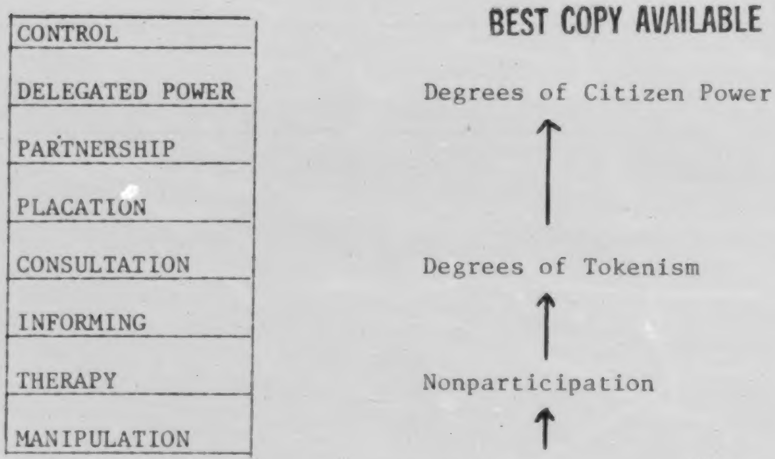

At the lowest rungs of the ladder,[17] participation assumes the guise of advisory councils, special meetings and ad hoc groups. Created by those in power to rubberstamp previously made decisions or to provide therapy, i.e., massaging stirred-up, agitated citizenry, teachers or students, these forms of pseudoparticipation crudely bend the will of participants to the needs of decisionmakers. The early years of Federal urban renewal efforts or reactions of panicked school officials during a crisis involving students or community produced these forms of nonparticipation.

Further up the ladder, bits of power stick to the forms of participation but decisions still are made by policymakers. No sharing of power takes place. While attitude surveys, public hearings, teacher councils and neighborhood meetings involve the powerless, informing and consulting mean little unless decisionmakers offer some assurance that people's opinions will be seriously considered.

Placation is the most highly developed form of tokenism. Examples are the placing of a poor person, teacher, or student on the board of an agency or the creation of a planning council complete with staff and funds to develop schemes which could be, and usually are, vetoed by the real powerholders.

The exercise of decisionmaking power begins with partnership such as joint policy boards and mechanisms that permit negotiation of conflicts. Power can be delegated to citizens, teachers and student groups as has been done in certain Model City agencies and in performance contracting to groups of teachers. Control means that making policy and governance are in the hands of the previously uninvolved. Community control of schools and neighborhood corporations are examples of this rung of the ladder.

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[17] Arnstein, op. cit.

The last decade testifies to the powerful belief in the efficacy of participation as a way of improving the effectiveness of institutions. Student uprisings on campuses and in the high schools, the broadening of representation within political parties, growing acceptance in industry of the concept of participatory management, the changing rituals and greater lay involvement in churches and the struggle for community control in various cities--all of these mirror the deep need of people to achieve more power over the institutions that influence their lives.

Why This Strategy?

Why is participation being pushed as a strategy to cure the ills of urban school systems? While some reformers see citizen participation jolting rigid bureaucrats out of their offices and leading to a redistribution of power in governing the schools, others see participation as a legitimate end in itself. No monolithic view or consensus exists among reformers as to the benefits that would derive from increased participation of the excluded. Reformers cluster around the particular outcomes that they predict would result from increased participation.

These different anticipated outcomes are based on different values. We will return to this later. These outcomes can be divided into four groups: ideological, social and individual therapy, political, and educational. These are rough groupings, not complete compartments; much overlapping and slippage occur.

Ideological

The virtues of participation are buried deep in the marrow of democratic tradition. Without citizen participation, individual self-improvement and the protection of one's interests will be endangered. Most important, a general consensus of what is needed will eventually emerge from participation. Finally, widespread participation will check leaders of public institutions and make them accountable for their decisions. The character of the participation includes voting; PTA membership, citywide committee work on educational matters, testifying and attending public hearings and membership on policymaking boards.

To ideological reformers there should then be more client participation in the governance and operation of schools; not only because it is a public institution but also because through participation the democratic process will work for all concerned. The main difficulty with the ideology of participation is simply the traditionally low level of public participation in institutional life. Robert Dahl pointed out that about one in four Americans engage in any kind of political activity beyond voting. He feels that evidence can be generalized to schooling.[18] Low turnouts for school board elections, few parents joining PTA's or any organized interest group, and lack of knowledge about school issues paint a drab picture of uninvolvement except for certain referenda or episodic issues such as sex education. This applies not only to ghettoes but suburban areas as well; it weakens the argument of those who call for more participation to make institutions democratic. Related to the low level of participation is the fact that people turn out mostly to protest instead of just exercising power or feeling democratic. If they have confidence in their leaders or have no cause for protest, evidence indicates that participation remains minimal.

The ideology of participation in order to maintain democratic institutions seems to be no more than a series of assertions; ones that occasionally rationalize other interests. What appears to be an ideology often slips into a strategy to achieve other ends. With some critics what begins with a firm commitment to the absolute value of citizen participation turns into an argument for involvement as an instrument of change.

Social and Individual Therapy

Participation leading to the upper rungs described earlier performs several important functions. It can relieve the personal sense of isolation that many ethnic poor feel today; it can nourish self-esteem because involvement often leads to acceptance; and it can, according to Mario Fantini, "teach--at least at the sub-conscious level--the skills of give-and-take of power relationships and of planning and working toward goals."[19] Such a rationale for involvement is applicable not only for poor individuals but also for students and teachers.

The second function that participation, especially if it leads to control, can perform is for the community. We live at a time when life is fragmented and too compartmentalized. Constant change disorients people and splinters stable communities. With the constant emphasis on technology and progress, dehumanization has occurred. All of these forces have destroyed the traditional fabric of community in this country, creating a paralyzing sense of powerlessness in individuals. Citizen participation can be instrumental in creating and developing a sense of community.

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[18] Robert Dahl, "The Problem of Participation," Oliver P. Williams and Charles Press, Democracy in Urban America (Rand McNally, 1961), pp. 406-410.

[19] Mario Fantini, "Community Control and Quality Education in Urban School Systems," in Henry Levin (Ed.) Community Control of Schools (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1970), p. 52.

Among some black leaders, the rapid emergence of racial consciousness provided the necessary tool to mold a core of racial solidarity around common values, customs, and aspirations and locate all of this in the community. An organic community could be built that would give black individuals that sense of somebodyness that white America could not offer. If posed as a set of hunches, the strategy deserves consideration. If affirmed as facts, much is missing. Participation for mental health purposes might be useful in giving people a sense of control over their lives. With this goes a very high risk. Failure to gain tangible outcomes from the promise of participation could harvest a deeper, more infuriating anger, or paralyzing apathy. Such was the case with urban renewal in the 1950's, community action programs in the mid-60's, and the current experience of Model Cities.[20] In one way or another, all of these efforts were based on the proposition that powerlessness could be cured by participation and organization. Without any real distribution of power, control remained with established authorities and incurred profound resentment in participants.

A second problem relates to Dahl's observation about the historically low level of participation. Reversing the pattern would be most difficult; the spate of elections for community school boards, Model City and antipoverty boards with low voter turnout suggest that no reversal is in sight. Experiences in the antipoverty programs of the 1960's and Model Cities point to the customary process of middle-class citizens in low-income areas crowding out lesser-skilled poor citizens, thus narrowing the circle of involved people to those who already possessed skills from previous experience with participation.

A final problem with citizen participation leading to community development is the difficulty in reversing social trends. For the last two centuries, the trend in this country has been toward identifying education with the schools. Thomas Green points out that aid to education is aid to schools. Improvement of education gets converted into questions about the reform of schools. This specialization is reinforced by the schools getting tagged with responsibility for carrying on education that had previously been carried on by other institutions as the family, the apprenticeship system and industry. Education becomes a special function located in schools and separate from the rest of society.[21] Reform efforts are attempting to reverse that process by having the schools expand their community function to the point where it becomes the agent for change. This simply runs counter to a powerful social force at work for some time.

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[20] Obviously, there are significant exceptions to this generalization. Dayton and Philadelphia model city experiences, among others, appear to have meaningfully used citizen participation at specific points in time.

[21] Thomas Green, "Schools and Communities: A Look Forward," Community and Schools (Harvard Education Review, 1969), pp. 117-118.

Political

Participation of citizens, students, and teachers in achieving certain political ends is more often considered privately by certain groups of school reformers. There are anticipated outcomes nonetheless. With the recent upsurge of militant demands, riots, demonstrations, and the rising tide of ethnic conflict many people became seriously concerned about the domestic upheavals and the increasingly strident demands which were made upon it. While motivation was always complex, participation offered a straw for reformers to grasp. The thinking went like this. If the groups could be given power and their own resources to work with, the tensions would decrease. Tensions decrease; social stability returns. Participation is seen as a maneuver to defuse volatile demands. Examples of this are many. While many have criticized the Bundy report recommending the decentralization for New York City Schools, the series of events triggered by the report which ended in a State law mandating a form of community controlled school districts has indeed removed explosive confrontations between teachers and black and Puerto Rican parents from the front pages. More importantly it gave the excluded parties sufficient pieces of the power to quiet them. Similarly, with teachers and students various participatory mechanisms have been developed in times of stress to lessen potential conflict and satisfy both parties. Most superintendents at some point in their tenure have had to deal with conflicting demands from diverse pressure groups. If nothing were done by these superintendents to satisfy these demands, the stable conditions which schooling requires would not have been established.

Participation is political to the degree it is used as a tool to make institutions more responsive to their clients. In the antipoverty programs underwritten by Democratic administrations, maximum feasible participation of the poor was a weapon to shove city governments which had traditionally responded to minority groups with clout into being responsive to blacks. Participation forced changes in city politics and policies. The use of participation and control to convert agitation into constructive support of the social order, trying to make unresponsive institutions responsive, is no novel stratagem. The problem with this anticipated outcome of participation as a strategy for changing urban school systems is two-fold.

By defusing political conflict between competing interests and giving people pieces of power will more time and energy be taken up with political manuevering than with dealing with the goals of schooling? Evidence indicates that it will. Personal accounts of superintendents, board members, administrators and community members invariably focus upon the enormous drain on their time and energy in dealing with political issues of broad community involvement rather than addressing educational concerns. The recent community control crisis illustrated how large amounts of time were devoted to dealing with participant demands for change. Accounts of these experiences reveal that little else was done other than being responsive to political trends throughout the community. [Gittell, Ocean Hill-Brownsville; Mayer, Teachers Strike; Pois, Chicago]. What should be asked is what other realistic choice did schoolmen have? To further ignore such demands would be akin to ostrich-like behavior. The consensus necessary for schooling to operate internally would be unattainable until political conflict is either defused or resolved. While participation is not directly related to improved student performance, it is related directly to creating the necessary stability for other factors determining achievement to operate.

Will an institution prodded into being responsive be more effective in achieving its stated aims or will it simply be more responsive to other needs of its clients? The literature on organizations is rich in examples of goal displacement. Applied to schools, it often means that more emphasis is placed upon maintaining the support of participants than in striving to achieve the goals of effective schooling. In crude terms, the institution tries to make its clients contented, meet their needs to voice opinion, make minor decisions, include courses of study demanded, provide services not previously considered to be a function of the school (e.g., selling used clothes to neighborhood residents) but does not necessarily achieve the goals of schooling. There is little evidence to support this. In suburban school districts, parental demands for more homework results in a policy for so many hours of homework a week. Research shows little connection between the amount of homework done and achievement test scores. Another community demands an all-black faculty and administration; the system provides for that. Evidence has yet to demonstrate the race of teacher influences achievement. A major review of eight community control experiments could identify as the most significant accomplishment:

> ...the process whereby local participants have learned to become politically and socially effective in the face of overwhelming odds and limited power.

Whatever "politically and socially effective" means, the point that schools were meeting other kinds of needs remains firm. The unanswered question remains: Can achievement, as a criterion to measure goal success, be attained unless these needs are met?

Educational

This outcome for parent participation is based upon the belief that were parents more involved in the educational affairs of the community, they would receive a part of the results of schooling. Increased participation or control could shape positive parental attitudes toward the school. This would create a more supportive learning climate for their children. Similarly, teachers argue that were they given the power to govern themselves, to make policy decisions about curriculum, instruction and professional improvement, the school would achieve its aim. The assumption concerning student participation demands predicts the same outcome.

No firm evidence exists to support these beliefs. Research has yet to sustain any of these assertions. There have been some scattered results reporting achievement gains and improved attitudes in children, but few claims have endured with time or change in personnel. Past experience with community participation has yielded no direct tie between effective schooling and participation or control. Predicted outcomes of traditional goals of schooling represent hope more than confidence.

Summary

According to many reformers, governance and organization of urban school systems are the basic problems. Participation with differing levels of power is the best lever of change. By employing the strategy of participation, the goals of schooling will be achieved. We have tried to show that the assumptions and analysis of the problems as presented by critics of urban schools are both supported and unsupported; the merits of participation as a strategy to achieve certain ends are uncertain. When ends to be achieved are investigated, it is found that this is what is at issue.

The goals of education represent values of groups who have the power to set them. Goal-setting or policymaking is highly political. The anticipated outcomes of participation are a set of alternatives and usually conflicting but not mutually exclusive goals. The values implied in these goals simply cannot be argued away or debated into power; they are deeply held feelings about the way things ought to be. Reformers believe that people should participate in their schools because they are their creation. People should participate in their schools so that we can end conflict and maintain a stable social order. People should participate in their schools so that they can feel better about themselves and build a better community. People should participate in their schools so that their children can progress further than they have.

These values clash. No single person or group can decide which values should become policy. The political process within school systems decides which groups will prevail. Political process is so structured that the usual broad participation of interest groups to achieve some kind of value consensus has not occurred. The usual bargaining process that permits individuals and interest groups to advocate particular policies and programs has not operated. The only advocacy heard has been generally that of professional schoolmen for their recommended policies. Nonetheless, it is important that the issue be seen in terms of the value conflicts that have permeated this Nation for over two centuries. The need is for continuing public clarification of values that underlie alternative policies rather than coating the issue in layers of statistics, sophistry, or rhetoric.

Where To Go: Conclusions

Beyond clarification of values underlying policy choices, the foregoing analysis has also suggested two interrelated components for change in governance and organization of school systems. They are:

1. Reduced size of operating units--sub-systems, regions, schools, etc.--to conform with recommendations on effective size of operations.

2. Mechanisms that provide for meaningful involvement of various participants in voicing their concerns, raising alternative policies to those recommended by the administration and negotiating conflict.

Size is critical to effectiveness. A vast literature on organizations testifies to the importance of scale. Size of school and school districts has been found to be related to adaptability.[22] One logical direction to pursue in large school systems is some form of decentralization that results in sub-districts of about 10,000 students for grades one to twelve. There are similarly effective sizes for elementary and secondary schools in terms of adaptability and personal responsiveness. These should be given weight in designing a pilot effort. Relation to size is the component concerning participation.

While the benefits derived from participation are mixed, the existing professional dominance of policymaking in school systems, combined with the growing body of evidence that participation at the middle and upper rungs of the ladder produce responsiveness on organizations, compellingly argues for inclusion of different kinds of mechanisms for involvement.

Participatory Mechanisms

These mechanisms can be seen within the framework of two kinds of decentralization. The relationship to size is critical. Administrative decentralization has occurred in a number of major cities. Which functions (supervision, accounting, personnel, purchasing, etc.) remain centralized and which are delegated to sub-districts differ from place to place. Administrative decisionmaking is more important to what happens in schools. While responsibility is shifted to regional administrators, there is usually no corresponding shift in authority. Within this context, few cities have utilized citizen participation beyond advisory boards. Totally dependent upon regional administrators for information, lacking funds to provide for sufficient staff and essential expenses, such participatory mechanisms lack influence. They seldom become more than sounding boards for narrow concerns and a rubber stamp for administrative decisions. While other mechanisms for participation are not precluded by administrative decentralization, its history suggests a low-level of citizen participation and power-sharing.[23]

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[22] Truman Pierce, *Controllable Community Characteristics Related to the Quality of Education* (New York: Teachers College, 1947), p. 15F.

The other form of decentralization is political. Due to external demands upon the schools, a shift in governance, an actual transfer to policymaking power from the board of education to another group takes place. Such a shift can be legislatively mandated as in the New York City schools; (1970) it can be done locally by the school board as in Washington, D. C. Adams and Morgan schools (1967-1970); or it can be jointly agreed upon between Federal or State and the local school district as in U. S. Office of Education-sponsored Career Opportunities and Rural-Urban Development Programs or State-managed schools. Such moves represent a political formula for resolving conflict over and in schools.

The range of participatory mechanisms under political decentralization is broader. At one end of a continuum of participation would be those schools that are granted complete control over resources and personnel in one or more schools, by the central board. In the middle of the continuum would be governing boards in which decisionmaking is shared between administrators, citizens or other constituencies in certain policymaking areas. At the other end of the continuum would be advisory boards with independent resources to finance their activities. There are, of course, numerous variations and combinations of changed governance; what is described here is not meant to be prescriptive or all-inclusive.

Given the recent turbulent history of community-controlled experiments and performance contracting in numerous big cities and the internal resistance from powerful elements among teachers and administration, such delegation of power and responsibility on the part of school boards will probably be minimal. There should be federally supported pilot efforts in which governance is controlled by the smaller community. Sufficient resources should be allocated to its operation, clearly defined responsibilities laid out for each side, and specific outcomes of the pilot determined.

While governing boards have been delegated certain limited powers to spend available funds and decide upon certain personnel, curricular and instructional matters and operate as mini-boards of education, the mechanism has not been widely accepted. Governing boards should operate just as community-controlled boards for one or more schools or a school district.

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[23] Gittell and Hollander, op. cit.

Most of the participatory mechanisms that will emerge in the immediate future will range from a limited sharing of decisionmaking power to strictly advisory councils. A number of key considerations over the scope and nature of these and other pilot participatory mechanisms arise.

Degree of Decentralization

Whether the unit of governance should be a school, a cluster of schools, or a school district should be compatible with effective size of operation. A decentralized district of 25,000 students is probably too large, as one high school of 200 students is probably too small to do what has to be done. Unit size is a crucial factor for consideration.

Character of Funding

If the governing or advisory board depends upon the central board of education for professional and secretarial services, personal expenses and funds for publication, there is little likelihood that substantial issues will be considered and resolved. Participatory measures have historically been frustrated by fiscal dependence upon the very people they are to advise and share governance with. The least common denominator of any participatory mechanism should be a separate and adequate budget for internal operations.

Character of the Board

Issues of the appointment or election of members, which groups are to be represented and to what degree (ethnic, socioeconomic, professional, lay, geographical, etc.) and how membership should change are difficult and must be decided.

Decisionmaking Domain

It would seem that participatory mechanisms would restrict themselves to considering narrowly defined issues, given the board of education's statutory power to make policy and the professional staff's expertise in implementing policy decisions. This is deceptive. When one considers that goal-setting (policymaking) and goal-implementation (administration) are so intertwined as to be virtually indistinguishable, then it is most difficult to separate lay from professional decisions. The highly charged policy issue of reading retardation is an example of this.

A board of education policy decision could valuably spend one year in doing nothing but focusing all curricular content, instructional methods and in-school experiences in the elementary school upon the improvement of reading. Such a decision is properly made by a board of education; it is one goal chosen that reflects the values of the laymen that made the policy. Presumably professional administrators would design various strategies to implement the policy and work for its successful completion. The political consequences that flow from particular strategies complicates the division between lay and professional. For example, the superintendent and his staff may suggest to the board the following alternative strategies:

a. Release pupils two days each week for the entire school year in order for concentrated staff development in the teaching of reading or,

b. Hire more teachers and teacher aides from the community to decrease the ratio of student to adult or,

c. Contract out a number of schools to a successful commercial reading-improvement organization or three hours of daily instruction or,

d. Concentrate funds on researching the reading programs that work best with children.

Each alternative, carries political ramifications that the board may or may not wish to pursue. No doubt at a lower level of specificity, there is little political content to technical decisions. Similar mixing of policymaking and implementation occurs in decisions to clear slums for urban renewal or establishing an antiballistic missile program.

The point is that ends (policies) and means (implementation strategies) are so inextricably tied together that the usual distinction is blurred between lay and professional, qualitative and quantitative decisions.

No hard, realistic distinction can be drawn between types of policies or lay and professional domains of policymaking. The domain of advisory boards is thus all policy decisions and implementation strategies decided upon by the regular school board.

Advisory boards theoretically advise. They can bring to bear an enormous amount of influence upon administrative decisionmaking and operations and, hence, policies if they would--

1. Assess areas of need and supply specific information about such needs.

2. Evaluate current operating policies by establishing criteria for success.

3. Recommend new and different policies and procedures to those who make policy.

The advisory board--independently funded, representative of various constituencies, a place where alternative policies are discussed--offers the leadership of participatory mechanisms opportunities to profoundly influence the direction and management of the larger school system. The test of this proposition should be contained within a pilot effort.

Success Or Failure

By what criterion should these pilot efforts in governance reform be judged? Since no direct relationship between a change in governance or organization and student performance exists now, a change can only provide a stable political environment in which school personnel can directly influence learning outcomes. Political stability indicators might be the levels of community, student and professional confidence in the schools, amount of time and space in media devoted to school conflict,[24] perceptions of education groups toward the participatory mechanism and the degree of consensus existing in community and school as to what the school is and should be doing. Other indicators can be added.

Such a criterion makes it possible to determine the success or failure of a particular pilot effort without unreasonably burdening it with what governance and organization reform cannot directly do, such as raise student achievement, improve self-esteem of children, etc.

Recommendation

We recommend that a minimum of three pilots in governance reform be tested. One should be community-controlled; another, shared-power arrangement in the form of a governing board; and one an independently funded advisory council either for an individual school, a cluster of schools, or a school district.

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[24] Stability is not synonymous with lack of conflict; stability implies that mechanisms for resolving and managing conflict exist and work satisfactorily. Conflict cannot be abolished. As long as values differ, it will continue.

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Chapter 4

SCHOOL PERSONNEL AND THE PROBLEM OF INCENTIVES

by

Lawrence J. Barnett
University of Wisconsin (Milwaukee)

and

Roslynd McClendon
Detroit Public Schools, Michigan

Introduction

If teachers and administrators were completely satisfied in every work-related way would children learn faster, better and more? Common sense, not research, suggests that there may be a relationship between job satisfaction of educational personnel and pupil learning. The most optimistic speculation--offered principally by teachers--asserts that job satisfaction stemming from various changes in conditions of work, ranging from remuneration to autonomy, would maximize pupil learning. The most pessimistic speculation--advanced principally by researchers and other skeptics--is that little or no effect on pupil learning would be likely to result if school personnel were significantly more satisfied with the various rewards associated with their work. It must be noted, however, that the question remains an open one because of the great evidential void encountered when pursuing resolution. Nonetheless, exploration seems worthwhile for a number of reasons. Not the least of these is the virtually universal conviction of school personnel that the reward systems in which they function are insufficient, depressing and ultimately ramify pupil achievement. The strategic positioning of these personnel coupled with the wisdom of W. I. Thomas' admonition, "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences," suggests careful and serious exploration of the efficacy of upgrading school output through changed reward practices.

In this paper the term "reward" should be understood to mean any event, occurrence, material acquisition or perception derivative from work in the school context which leads to feelings of satisfaction, accomplishment, security, self-esteem, and usefulness. A reward is any experience which may cause school personnel to feel pleased with themselves.

As in other formal and complex organizations, participants in the school experience locate sources of rewards in the networks of rules, regulations, social norms, values, and production expectations. However, it is important to note that sources of rewards may also be potential sources of frustrations. From any given source it is possible through compliance or non-compliance to derive satisfaction (reward), dissatisfaction (deprivation), or neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction (nothing).

People and conditions being disturbingly variable in nature, it is possible that what is seen as rewarding by some will be perceived as depriving to others, and evoke neutral responses from still others. Some differences in responses can be associated with such variables as social class, ethnicity, race, age, sex, educational level, cultural background, status, social geography, and other less discernible factors in combination and syntheses. Despite the high degree of variability in both stimuli and responses, some generalizations have been developed and may be useful in this discussion. Much descriptive material regarding reward systems related to the achievement of organizational goals is also available for consideration.

At this point a further definition of terms seems in order. Etzioni's definition of organizations accurately reflects the authors' general characterization of public school arrangements. He suggests that:

> Organizations are social units (or human groupings) deliberately constructed and reconstructed to seek specific goals. Corporations, armies, schools, hospitals, churches, and prisons are included; tribes, classes, ethnic groups, friendship groups, and families are excluded. Organizations are characterized by: (1) divisions of labor, power, and communication responsibilities, divisions which are not random or traditionally patterned, but deliberately planned to enhance the realization of specific goals; (2) the presence of one or more power centers which control the concerted efforts of the organization and direct it toward its goals; these power centers also must review continuously the organization's performance and repattern its structure, where necessary to increase its efficiency; (3) substitution of personnel, i.e., unsatisfactory persons can be removed and others assigned their tasks. The organization can also recombine its personnel through transfer and promotion...the term organizations refers to planned units, deliberately structured for the purpose of attaining specific goals.[1]

It will surely be noted that while organizations are "deliberately structured for the purpose of attaining goals," the ordinary citizen as well as the most sophisticated social analyst is well aware that facts of organizational life are more complicated than that statement would suggest. Competing, displacing, obstructing, subverting, diffusing, obscuring, or otherwise frustrating organizationally defined end-states are various other forces operating both within and without the entity. The sources of these blunting energies are many and varied. But those most germane to the purpose of this exposition are located principally in the personal and group reward or goal agendas of school personnel. The goals of educational personnel are not always in contradiction with the stated goals of the school organization. The task of bringing the stated goals of the school into congruence with the individual and group goals of its human components is a most complex and difficult task. The perfectly tuned system wherein all motives, goals, and associated rewards exist in harmonic resonance is unimaginable to these writers. Reduction of the system's dissonance, or, put more positively, improvement of its intonation seems a more realistic aspiration.

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[1] Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 3.

It seems important to offer here some analysis of the school organization and the internal and external forces which influence the behavior of its components. This brief discussion will reveal in sociological terms some sources of motivational impetus which tend to compete with or obstruct the achievement of schools' stated goals. This will largely constitute the baseline for the generation of such suggestions for changes in conditions and practices as will evolve from this work.

Analysis of the School

A most cogent analysis of the school directed at understanding its receptivity and resistance to diffusion of so-called educational innovations was prepared by Sam D. Seiber. Although admittedly "based on heuristic assumptions," this work explains effectively the context into which one would introduce changes in reward or motivational systems. This portion of the paper will then lean heavily on Professor Seiber's analysis. He identifies four aspects of the educational system he believes to be crucial in the understanding of its response to various change stimuli. They are:

1. Vulnerability to the social environment.
2. The professional self-image and associated values of educational personnel.
3. The diffuseness of education goals.
4. The need for coordination and control of the primary clientele, as well as the employees of the system.[2]

Compressing these four aspects into a terse technical statement, Seiber says, "We view education then, *as a vulnerable formal organization with diffuse goals, whose functionaries are quasi-professionals, and which is devoted to processing people within its boundaries.*"

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[2] Sam D. Seiber, "Organizational Influences on Innovative Roles," in Terry Eidell and Joanne Kitchel (Eds.), *Knowledge Production and Utilization in Education Administration* (Eugene, Oregon: The Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, CASEA, 1968), p. 122.

A brief exposition on each of these decisive characteristics of the educational system seems in order.

Vulnerability

Seiber defines vulnerability as "the extent to which the organization is subject to powerful influences stemming from its environment irrespective of the goals and resources of the organization." He reiterates the definition of, "The probability of being subjected to pressures that are incompatible to one's goals without the capacity to resist." He then goes on to cite three characteristics of organizations which testify to a "high degree of vulnerability." These are:

(1) subjugation to the environment
(2) discrepancy between the demands of the environment and the goals of the organization, and
(3) inadequate resources for achievement of organizational goals.[3]

Explaining the effects of vulnerability on the adoption of changed school practices, Seiber offers the following:

> Changes in practices that run the risk of disturbing the local community are eschewed...innovations are adopted which are promoted by local publics. Indeed political feasibility often carries greater weight than does educational value in determining the adoption of certain innovations...The new practices imported into schools tend to be non-disruptive, or outright services to the community...Further, innovations that are persuasively publicized across the nation become candidates for adoption, regardless of their educational significance.[4]

In regard to the effect of organizational vulnerability on internal relationships in the school, especially as they relate to attempts to change practices, Seiber offers the following statement which is most highly related to the burden of this paper:

> The vulnerability of the system might also affect internal relationships in a fashion that reduces serious educational experimentation. An organization that is subject to control by a local constituency, and whose activities are potentially visible (by virtue of the fact that its clientele move in and out of the system every day), requires a high degree of consensus on goals and procedures in order to present a united

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid, p. 125.

front. Lacking such consensus, the organization's leaders must insist on a certain measure of secrecy. These conditions might promote dominative relationships between administrators and teachers, and also strong informal control among teachers that might tend to countervail the exercise of professional discretion. Thus, radical departures from typical classroom practices are subtly discouraged lest parents make invidious comparisons with other staff members. The same kind of restraint probably acts upon principals and, perhaps, even higher administrative personnel. In short, caution may be generated within the school apart from anticipation of either support or condemnation by the community. Efforts that are exerted beyond the call of duty by an individual practitioner might be viewed with apprehension because they threaten to raise community expectations for other staff members. Restriction of production on the part of industrial workers due to vulnerability to shifting standards of performance has been an object of study for almost forty years. Presumably the assumption that teaching is a "profession" has prevented us from examining teachers in the same light.[5]

The Professional Status of Teachers

In this discussion, Seiber lists three essential characteristics of persons in occupations regarded as professions. These are:

1. They perform a personal service that is regarded as indispensable in modern society.
2. They possess a high degree of technical competence.
3. They enjoy considerable autonomy in their work.[6]

The services that teachers render are unquestionably regarded as "indispensable" to the good and welfare of American society. This remains true of upwardly mobile groups. For many immigrants, the disappointment which resulted from the discovery that the streets were not paved with gold was softened by the belief that educational achievement was the surest route to status, freedom and well-being. Although the educational objectives of teaching remain in high esteem, there is considerable question concerning the technical competence exhibited by members of the teaching force and certainly much evidence which reveals their lack of autonomy. It can be noted that despite the "methods" focus of many teacher-preparation programs, the technical competence of teachers of poor and minority children is subject to serious doubt in the face of the record of continued massive academic failure. Asking, telling, managing, organizing, demonstrating, relating, and other skills seemingly successful with children from majority racial and socioeconomic strata are clearly not applicable to all schools. If one includes administrative personnel as part of the instructional instrumentation of the schools, then a strong case may be made evincing much evidence of lack of appropriate skill in that quarter as well. Such an analysis would surely include the manifest dissatisfaction of ghetto parents with school officials, resultant personnel dislocations and structural reorganizations currently in motion in many big cities.

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[5] Ibid, p. 126.

[6] Ibid, p. 128.

It seems clear that teachers in most schools are not really autonomous. Instead, they are cast in the role of functionaries in a rather loose bureaucratic system. Teachers are not free to make decisions concerning what they will teach, how they will teach, whom they will teach, when they will teach, under what circumstances they will teach, what incentives, rewards and negative sanctions they will employ, or what remuneration they will receive.

Seiber cites some further distinguishing characteristics of educational personnel:

> There are also certain attributes of the teaching force that distinguish the occupation from recognized professional groups. The overwhelming proportion are women; they are heavily recruited from the middle and lower-middle classes; the lower half of the ability continuum falls far below the average for other professions; only about half of secondary school teachers and one quarter of elementary teachers have any training beyond college; salaries have failed to compete favorably with salary ranges in occupations requiring equivalent levels of preparation; teaching stands at the bottom of the professions in prestige; and occupational commitment is extremely low, as revealed by the fact that most teachers do not expect to remain in teaching until retirement, and only a small proportion of those who receive teacher training remain in the occupation longer than ten years (Jessup, 1967). For all these reasons, teaching is not a profession in the sense that we understand law and medicine to be professions. It appears, nevertheless, that teachers adopt the full-fledged professions as their reference groups. (This might be due to their identification with college professors and the upward mobility aspirations of lower middle class members.) The institutionalized gap between occupational reality and the aspirations of teachers is characteristic of "quasi-professions."[7]

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[7] Ibid.

Speculating on consequences of ambiguous professional status, he posits the notion that "status insecurity" affects the response of educational personnel to changed practices and procedures. Thus the top-down installation direction of reform serves to reaffirm the teachers's lack of autonomy. Their tendency appears to be rejection or resistance to such changes as further impingement on their already strucured domains. The suggestions or demands which frequently come from parents and other laymen are received with even less enthusiasm and greater resistance as the ultimate eroders of professional image. Seiber suggests further that status-insecurity has other depressing and subverting effects on the motivation of teachers and other educational personnel to apply changed practices:

> Status-insecurity in organizations has also been observed to cause "ritualism" or over-compliance with means to the neglect of ends. The teacher who dismisses his class for independent study, or who withholds a grade until a slow student has had a chance to master the material, or deviates widely from an approved lesson plan is risking a reprimand that he can ill afford in his insecure position. So teachers tend to overcomply with regulations, even when innovative behavior is nominally condoned, or when the educational goal is clearly better served by "irregular" behavior. Ritualism might undermine the purpose of a new, demonstrably worthwhile innovation since it is always possible to comply too rigidly with even the best procedures. If discretion is never exercised, it is doubtful that any classroom innovation will work effectively.[8]

Still another effect of status-insecurity on the behavior of teachers is noted by Seiber. He observes that teachers do not talk with each other very much about teaching. He suggests that this phenomenon may result from the tacit conviction that it is impolitic to reveal lack of expertise, that it would weaken claims to professional status and cites a study reported by Lippitt in 1965:

> Further evidence comes from a survey in which teachers were asked to nominate practices they knew about that might contribute to the mental health condition of pupils. Out of a total of 330 practices that were mentioned, only 30 were indicative of knowledge of what other teachers were doing---the overwhelming majority were practices that the teachers themselves were following. The research concluded, "People usually do not know what other people are doing within their school buildings." Concealment by quasi-professionals of an inadequate base of knowledge

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[8] Ibid, p. 129.

> and a limited set of skills might be necessary to permit them to preserve their professional identity. Such behavior might be especially appropriate when it becomes a matter of revealing classroom difficulties to other teachers. Advice might be least often sought, therefore, on precisely those problems that are most critical.[9]

In critical discussions of the school a frequent target has been the single salary schedule and its equalitarian distribution of remuneration irrespective of differentiated ability and productivity. In this regard the practice of offering incentives--monetary or other forms--has been suggested as a way of encouraging greater effort toward the achievement of better educational results. Seiber asserts that there are powerful forces which would negate such effort.

> The rejection of bureaucratic incentives for greater effort is another consequence of quasi-professionalism that bears on innovation roles. Professional self-esteem rests upon two bases: unstinting service to the individual needs of clients (which depends upon a large measure of privatized discretion), and recognition among colleagues. But formal incentive systems related to performance rest upon observable behavior and such incentive systems violate two of the core values of professionalism. Thus, local merit plans are opposed as at once undermining collegial authority and violating the privileged nature of the professional-client relationship.[10]

Finally, he notes that the teacher-pupil relationship has been identified by researchers as "the most important source of occupational gratification for most teachers." He infers from this evidence a most interesting notion about teacher behavior and motivation:

> ...emphasis on the affective-particularistic aspect of the relationship with students affords an alternative to technical expertise as a means of controlling and motivating students. This emphasis also serves to legitimate the demand for greater discretion and autonomy. Because it is presumed that many students are unique and must be dealt with on their own terms, and that every classroom is different from every other classroom, it becomes bootless to suggest innovations that were developed for other students in other classrooms. In effect, the intimacy of the teacher-student relationship spurns the

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[9] Ibid, pp. 126-30.

[10] Ibid, p. 130.

advice of outsiders. This state of affairs might explain the situation observed by Lippitt:

> We find in teachers a resistance or an inhibition to adopting another teacher's inventions. This is quite different, we find, from the active scouting for the newest in some of the other fields. Our interviews seem to suggest, for example, that the idea of adopting somebody else's practice somehow is a notion of imitation and that as such it is bad.[11]

Goal Diffuseness

Defining the term goal diffuseness, Seiber declares:

> A great deal has been said about the difficulty of specifying the multiple, terminal goals of education and of measuring their attainment, especially the long-range socialization goals. Goal-diffuseness refers to this lack of clarity and focus among the goals of educational organizations. It arises from the wide array of constituencies that our comprehensive, compulsory system is obliged to serve.[12]

He then explores a number of consequences resulting from this characteristic. He suggests for example that lack of clarity of terminal goals serves to strengthen the results of status-insecurity and vulnerability in regard to innovation. Suggesting that goal diffuseness leads to conflict between parents and educators, Seiber turns then to the phenomenon's effects on teacher motivations, teaching practice, and the training of teachers.

> Ritualistic adherence to certain instructional procedures and school regulations might be reinforced by goal-diffuseness also. Lack of consensus on goals, owing to their multiplicity and vagueness, might encourage over-compliance with the methods of education. In fact, the "retreat to methods" in teacher preparation might need re-examination in the light of educational goal-diffuseness.

> Goal diffuseness also contributes to professional insecurity. Despite an emphasis on instructional skills rather than on terminal goals, clarity of terminal goals is probably an important condition for the development of technical competence.

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[11] Ibid, p. 131.

[12] Ibid.

> Unable to reach agreement on the efficacy of particular skills, owing partly to the vagueness of goals and to the problem of measuring attainment of goals, teachers lack expertise as a basis of authority, which relegates them to a quasi-professional status...
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> ...It also seems likely that the difficulty of measuring outcomes would tend to demoralize those teachers who do not possess considerable personal self-confidence. The effect might be to lessen motivation to try out new practices, especially those that involve considerable inconvenience in the initial stages. In other words, a sort of fatalistic attitude may set in because of the difficulty of attaining objective certainty about a particular practice.[13]

Coordination and Control

Treating the topic of coordination and control, Seiber cites various structural conditions which serve to identify schools as bureaucratic organizations:

> School systems contain elaborate means for rationalizing the flow of recruits through the system--through sequential and horizontal organization of the curriculum, through counseling and through quality-control mechanisms that determine promotability and placement within academic strata. And there are also mechanisms for governing and rewarding the staff and for allocating resources throughout a large number of subdivisions. Further, because participation by the clients of schools is non-voluntary and because the clients are located within the organization, student control becomes an important organizational concern. Finally, owing to the commonweal function of education, accountability to parents and taxpayers is required, which necessitates further bureaucratic provisions. Because of all these management problems, schools systems assume a bureaucratic structure with a hierarchy of offices, a division of labor with specially trained incumbents, a proliferation of rules, an elaborate recordkeeping system, and so on.[14]

He notes that bureaucratization has reinforcing effects on the quasi-professional status of educational personnel. It does so by minimizing teacher choices in favor of upper echelon decisions regarding curriculum, textbook selection, performance evaluation, and pupil-control sanctions.

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[13] Ibid, p. 133.

[14] Ibid.

He states further that the bureaucratic need for efficiency, hence the tradition of working the large pupil groups, is in direct conflict with one of the "core values" of educators, that of individualization of instruction. Seiber suggests that because of the compelling need to maintain an organizational structure of high formality, school systems may tend to solve the dilemma of public demand for innovations by watering them down such that the *structure remains intact and change appears to have taken place*.

In addition to the above analysis, it is important to go at least one step further. It is necessary at this point to briefly review the several current and historical theories of organization as bases for developing schema to increase the productivity of functionaries in organization toward stated goals. These theoretical foundations, eclectically employed, shall, in combination with experiential frames of reference, provide further undergirding for analyses in this paper.

Taken in order of historical development, elements of the three major theories of organizations and motivation are presented briefly below.

Scientific Management

The central thrust of the Scientific Management persuasion was that problems relating to increasing the abilities of organizations to meet and/or exceed the requirements of their stated goals were essentially problems in the orderly, systematic rationalization of process. Proponents of the approach argued that the interests of the organization and its functionaries were ultimately a unity as both were primarily directed toward material gain. If one could analyze tasks with precision, divide operations and processes according to various relational categories, apply appropriately skilled labor to properly matched tasks, provide a proper ratio of supervisory controls and carefully select, place and authorize decisionmaking personnel, the organization would realize the goals it set for itself.

Scientific management adherents asserted that the closest linkage between work output and payment for work would yield the highest level of worker motivation. Piecework was the ultimate arrangement with remuneration occurring in the shortest possible time from the event of verified acceptable output.

Appropriately spaced hierarchical arrangements of single-point decisionmaking and conflict resolution explicated Scientific Managements confidence in expertness, authority, and efficiency. Decision prerogatives relating to procedures which might have damaging effects on major-goal achievement were lodged with those personnel whose interests it was to safeguard the integrity of major goals. Thus such *goals* would not be likely to be displaced by *means* which were perceived as *goals* by more remotely placed functionaries.

Referring to contemporary "Neo-classical" management theorists, Etzioni noted the following:

> It is a long way from the studies of coal-shoveling and fatigue to the sophisticated analyses of March and Simon; however, the major focus of their approach remains basically the formal organization, rational behavior, the search for the organizational tool most suited to serve a given set of goals, and not the organizational tool that keeps its participants most happy. The central questions are how is an organization best patterned in terms of division of labor and of authority and which patterns of coordination are the most effective; the stress is on choices individuals make for the organization (and its units) rather than on the factors that limit their choices or bias their decisions.[15]

Human Relations School

Dissatisfaction with the Scientific Management approach to achieving organizational effectiveness and efficiency led Lewin, Mayo, Lippitt, White, and others to work which evolved into the Human Relations approach to management. They developed and tentatively verified a number of hypotheses bearing importantly on the creation and maintenance of organizational effectiveness. In contrast to Scientific Management types, they focused on the unplanned aspects of organizational life and conceptualized the informal organization as being a most significant determinant of successful goal achievement. The informal organization was seen as the set of unwritten rules, norms, values, procedures and practices which developed among organizational functionaries as expressions of group-interest responses to formal organizational structure. In direct contradiction to the Classical theorists, the Human Relationists asserted that the perfect organization was indeed a most imperfect fit with the workers' emotional and social needs which transcended material needs and desires. Creation of the informal organization as a means of working between and around the perceived insufficiency and inappropriateness of the formal structure was seen as an important shaping and operational force in respect to organizational effectiveness. Discussing the major findings of Mayo's Hawthorne studies, Etzioni cited the following conclusions:

1. The level of production is set by social norms not by physiological capacities.

2. Non-economic rewards and sanctions significantly affect the behavior of workers and largely limit the affect of economic incentive plans. Two rewards and sanctions were particularly powerful and both were "symbolic" rather

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[15] Etzioni, op. cit., p. 31

than material. Workers who produced significantly more (or less) than the socially determined norm lost the affection and respect of their co-workers and friends.

3. Often workers do not react as individuals but as members of groups.

4. The importance of leadership for setting and enforcing group norms and the difference between informal and formal leadership.[16]

Etzioni and others also note the contributions of Lippitt and White in their studies of leadership styles as related to organizational group behavior. The major findings of these studies indicates that so-called democratic leadership which involved group members in considerable intragroup communication and participation led to high-quality output in contrast to other leadership styles characterized as laissez-faire and authoritarian. Those under democratic leadership functioned well in situations when leadership was not physically present. These and other findings suggested that involvement in decisionmaking on the part of group members, information about goals, purposes, and decisions of other groups organizationally related to their own, heightened and facilitated group output. Other motivational factors established as important among organizational functionaries in respect to goal achievement were associated with perceptions of the justness, fairness, and reasonableness of the organizations' demands and requirements.

Later Theories

A relentless intellectual dialectic has produced a number of variations and some distinctively different analyses of organizations and the relationships of forces and elements which influence their character, sources of motivation, and effectiveness. Even brief exploration of any of these is beyond the scope of this paper. Both major and minor departures from Scientific Management and Human Relations schools have frequently brought elements of both into more useful or interesting juxtaposition. Through synthesis or addition they have produced new concepts for research and application. Referring to the Structuralists, Etzioni lists the wider interests of these students or organizations as including:

1. Both formal and informal elements of the organization and their articulation.

2. The scope of informal groups and the relations between such groups inside and outside the organization.

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[16] Ibid, p. 34.

3. Both lower and higher ranks.

4. Both social and material rewards and their effects on each other.

5. The interaction between the organization and its environment.

6. Both work and non-work organizations.[17]

Employing the brief overview of basic organizational and motivational theory and the general sociological analysis of the school presented above, it seems useful at this point to attempt a reduction in level of abstraction. Therefore, let us turn to some rather more specific references to the questions of motivation and reward.

Reporting on 12 recent investigations of factors affecting job attitudes, Herzberg noted a pattern which would seem useful for the task at hand. He classified factors found to have affected job attitudes negatively and produced extreme dissatisfaction as "hygiene" factors and those factors which produced extreme satisfaction as "motivators." He defined these factors in the following way:

> Two different needs of man are involved here. One set of needs can be thought of as stemming from his animal nature--the built-in drive to avoid pain from the environment, plus all the learned drives which become conditioned to the basic biological needs. For example, hunger, a basic biological drive, makes it necessary to earn money, and then money becomes a biological drive.[18]

Factors associated with that description are "hygiene" factors and include items stemming from such sources as company policy and administration, supervision, interpersonal relationships, working conditions, salary, status, and security. Moving to a definition of "motivators," Herzberg offered the following:

> The other set of needs relates to that unique human characteristic, the ability to achieve and, through achievement to experience psychological growth. The stimuli for the growth needs are tasks that induce growth; in the industrial setting they are the job content. Contrariwise, the stimuli inducing pain-avoidance behaviors are found in job environment.[19]

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[17] Ibid, p. 49.

[18] Frederick Herzberg, "One More Time: How do you Motivate Employees?" Motivation Series--Reprints from Harvard Business Review, p. 57.

[19] Ibid, p. 58.

Herzberg then listed growth or "motivator" factors associated with job content as achievement, recognition for achievement, the work itself, responsibility and growth or advancement. His analysis of the results of the 12 studies showed that of all factors contributing to extreme job satisfaction, 81 percent were "motivators"-- or those factors related to job content and only 19 percent were "hygiene" factors, or those related to job environment. Of all factors contributing to extreme job dissatisfaction, 69 percent were "hygiene" factors (job environment) while only 31 percent could be classified as "motivators" (job content).

This report in our view provides some useful "handles" on the issues relating to motivation and reward of educational personnel. Herzberg's classification of dimensions of motivation is compelling and useful as typological reference. The specific division of factors into those related to job content and job environment seem most germane to our task. The summary of the results of the 12 studies directs attention to differentiated sources of motivation, i.e., content and environment. These are very much in keeping with the systemic analyses presented earlier in this paper.

Before proceeding with the discussion of the relationship between altered reward systems and pupil achievement, it is useful to call attention to still another most interesting and contemporary theoretical formulation. In response to Douglas W. McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y and based on their recent studies, Morse and Lorsch offer some theoretical assumptions they label "contingency theory." They described Theory X and Theory Y as follows:

> Theory X assumes that people dislike work and must be coerced, controlled, and directed toward organizational goals. Furthermore, most people prefer to be treated this way, so they can avoid responsibility. Theory Y--the integration of goals--emphasizes the average person's intrinsic interest in his work, his desire to be self-directing and to seek responsibility, and his capacity to be creative in solving business problems.[20]

Morse and Lorsch note that McGregor's choice was Theory Y as being most effective. Contingency theory, on the other hand, suggests that "the appropriate pattern of organization is contingent on the nature of the work to be done and on the particular needs of the people involved." Thus their studies have revealed that a more precisely structured and rationalized organization pursuing industrial research was less effective than a more loosely structured research lab. A loosely structured manufacturing plant was also less effective than a more highly structured manufacturing plant.

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[20] John J. Morse and Jay W. Lorsch, "Beyond Theory Y: Motivation Series -- Reprinted from Harvard Business Review, p. 34.

Thus far in our quest for bases for treating the question of rewards and motivational systems, Scientific Management and Human Relations theory have been reviewed together with some of the more contemporary organizational-motivational thrusts, such as those of the structuralists and Contingency theorists; suggested system for the classification of sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction was noted; and a heuristic analysis of the school was presented which characterized it as a loose bureaucratic organization, staffed by quasi-professionals, with diffuse goals, a strong need for coordination and control, and manifesting a high degree of vulnerability.

Examinations of organization and motivation theory have led to several tentative conclusions regarding approaches to the present problem. For example, attempts to raise the level of school achievement through the introduction of various incentives for educational personnel into an otherwise unaltered system would probably fail to produce the desired results. We would include in this negative prediction such schema as bonus payments, differentiated staffing arrangements, honorific titles and other formal or informal material or nonmaterial ceremonial or routinized events thought to spur school personnel to higher levels of work. The prediction of failure rests on both theoretical and empirical bases. In the latter frame, there is no evidence which causally or correlatively links receipt by teachers of material or nonmaterial increments or rewards with higher pupil achievement in the schools of the inner cities or poor rural areas. This evidential gap includes cross-system as well as intra-system comparisons. For example, while teachers of poor black children in New York City are paid more than teachers of poor black children in Kansas City and while within either city some teachers are paid considerably more than others, better educational results cannot be linked to these remunerative variations. Moreover, if increased promotional latitude within the occupation of teaching (such as available in differentiated staffing arrangements) is related to raised pupil performance, it has yet to be persuasively demonstrated. Similarly, it has not been shown that "Teacher of the Year" awards or other less pretentious pat-on-the-back approaches have been useful. As Seiber has noted, much of what is suggested as incentives for teachers emerges as anathema to practitioners struggling to affirm professional status in an organization most defenseless against external influences, plagued by numerous unclear and unmeasurable goals and molded into organizational structure of great rigidity and defensiveness.

Reference to the theoretical frame also supports our rejection of such isolated reward alterations as those described above and others of similar character. By virtue of the sheer complexity of the problem as defined by any theoretical position, reward-motivational sorties of any description as strategy for change seem facile. This is vividly clear when viewed in the context of deeply imbedded and powerful systemic shaping forces of a structural, social, and emotional nature. The motivation and reward of educational personnel as a strategy for improving the results of schooling must be considered a problem of great density, subject to treatment only through basic organizational reformation, and probably through repositioning in respect to the organizations' relationship with the various publics it attempts to serve. The issues relating to the social repositioning of the school in relation to the wider society are beyond the scope of this paper. But experimental reformation of the internal organization along lines to be suggested below is both a feasible and promising endeavor.

Organizational Reformation

A basic question must be answered when one attempts to analyze any organization with the purpose of increasing its effectiveness. Whether it be a manufacturing plant, hospital, research facility, bank, social welfare agency, or school, one needs first to ascertain whether or not functionaries in the organization at all levels possess basic competence in relation to the tasks to which they are assigned. The difficulty and complexity imbedded in such decisions is profound, particularly at higher levels of occupational status. Here tasks are less clearly identifiable and notions of the elements of competence are frequently fuzzy and speculative. More discrete and concrete operations such as those found at lower occupational levels in manufacturing plans are more susceptible to evaluation regarding the skills possessed by employees. In any event, whatever the difficulties, decisions must be made about competencies in all organizations for purposes such as promotion, salary increases and termination. Whether on sound or unsound bases, such decisions are made and acted upon. The most common useful reference for such decisions is product. Without treating the pitfalls of even this basic competence reference,we shall take as our standard for judging rural and inner-city school competence their record of "production" of pupils who attain national normative levels of academic achievement. As has been documented in other essays of this work this record is most dismal and unsatisfactory, particularly to the clientele who are the unwilling recipients of what they perceive to be grossly unacceptable "product" results.

If one decides that the system is not competent on the basis of output, one is still left with the problem of identifying the elements and components most responsible for producing unacceptable results. It must be noted that although the school is accountable for results, individual achievement is also subject to variation from the interventions of external influences. Among these are physical and mental health, mood, and gross intellectual impairment. The most competent teacher imaginable in a "regular" classroom cannot be expected to successfully compete for attention with the pain resulting from advanced tooth decay, profound depression or the gnawing pangs of unsatisfied hunger.

But, allowing for such factors, we suggest that massive school failure in the Nation's city and rural schools can usefully be understood as attributable in major part to one or the other, or some combinations of the following two sets of conditions:

Condition 1. The Missing Competence System

The school is unable to achieve results because of the fundamental task-incompetence of its functionaries. Teachers do not have skills which enable them to teach the children of the poor and minority populations. Supervisors and administrators also lack skills to help the teachers learn how to help children learn. Moreover, the trainers of teachers in the universities and colleges are at least as unequal to the task as the certificated alumni of their institutions. The schools' organizational structure channels the major portion of its energies into gate-keeping and system maintenance functions. It systematically displaces ends with means and is most expert at apologia and ritualized processing procedures rather than facilitating pupil learning.[1]

Condition 2. The Obstructed Competence System

The school is unable to achieve results because of the grossly poor fit of organizational arrangements with the task-demands of the situation. Most teachers and supervisory functionaries are possessed of sufficient skill and knowledge to achieve normative academic results with poor and minority children. They are obstructed from doing so by a system in rational, political and social disarray. It manifests insufficient task definition and specification, dysfunctional lines of authority and communication both within the organization and with its legitimate publics and clientele, insufficient resources, lack of protection from external pressures, poor working conditions, insufficient remuneration, and low morale resulting from all of the above. While the propositions presented above are necessarily brief and skeletal, they provide a strategic foothold on some possible planning and operational options. If some urban and rural schools can be reasonably characterized as obstructed competence systems, what steps can be taken to develop valid and reliable knowledge strategies and tactics which will insure the removal of obstacles to the exercise of competence and result in the achievement of the stated goals of the school? If these urban and rural schools can be reasonable characterized as missing competence systems, then what steps can be taken to generate valid and reliable knowledge about the nature of competence, the conditions necessary and essential to learning about competence, the conditions necessary and essential to successful training of competent practitioners, and the conditions necessary and essential to the application of competence.

From Obstructed to Facilitated Competence

No solution to the problem of school effectiveness as related to the phenomenon of obstructed competence has yet been discovered. There is available in the literature much educated speculation on how the Nation might move toward amelioration or reduction of schooling problems. There are a plethora of approaches. Among these are the radical social reform innovations such as the abandonment of the schools (along with the social and economic system) voiced by Paul Goodman and others, to the voucher propositions of Christopher Jeuler (which sponsor the generation of competitive school systems), and the decentralization supported by the Ford Foundation and many members of minority communities. Many of these are persuasive in their own right or in combinations. However, as an illustrative possibility of how a school may be reformed to unblock the competence of its functionaries, we find Morris Janowitz's Aggregation Model most compelling. In very much attenuated form then, we will offer his conceptualization as one among others worthy of consideration. He defines the aggregation model as "the expression of administrators and staff members who are concerned primarily with a basic format within which change and effective teaching can take place. Specific programs and techniques are of secondary concern when compared with organizational climate, institutional milieu, or operational doctrine."[21] Janowitz of course examines schools as social institutions. He chooses the term "aggregation" to signify concern for the need to "add up the parts of the social system in which the teacher must operate."[22] His interest in additive potential seems rooted in analysis of the present school organization which comprises a series of disparate elements and components which defy summation as a functionally unified and socially focused institution. Janowitz sees the teacher as the principal vehicle for the delivery of educational services and he proposes the school be organized to facilitate the teacher's work. He conceives of this work as encompassing professional latitude and prerogatives far beyond those available in most contemporary public schools as described by Seiber and others. Janowitz's "teacher-administrator" would be

> ...in charge of a group of youngsters...responsible for the well being and educational progress of these youngsters. But the teacher can involve a variety of persons, both within and outside the school to see that the youngster has access to the basic needs and values. In fact, the aggregation model fundamentally is concerned with expanding the pool of human resources for the individual youngster. There is no way of knowing in advance to whom a student will relate appropriately and who will in effect offer satisfactory and stable interpersonal contacts. It is the function of the teacher-manager to see that such relationships are facilitated.[23]

Janowitz asserts that traditional schooling strives for "the elaboration of cognitive processes and the enhancement of academic achievement mainly brought about by reconstruction of the contents of the curriculum according to the principles of cognitive development"[24] and argues for a redirection of energies. He suggests that

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[21] Morris Janowitz, Institution Building in Urban Education (Hartford: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969), p. 42.

[22] Ibid, p. 43.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid, p. 46.

> Concern with the structuring of materials is of less importance than the sheer question of mobilizing interest in the subject matter. A central question is a set of rewards and patterns of motivation which lead youngsters to undertake the necessary "intellectual" struggle and effort. These rewards are most effective if they are immediate, mediated through personal relations, and are strengthened if they are unconditional.[25]

In the organizational reformation of the school, Janowitz leaves a hierarchical structure in place but proposes much role and function redefinition. His suggested changes blanket the entire system from pupil to board of education. Arguing for centralization of some functions and decentralization of others he declares that "decentralization, in particular, is only an organizational strategy that can be justified if it changes the behavior of principals and classroom teachers and of parents as well."[26] His suggestions for ways in which the decision range of the school principal should be enlarged are particularly interesting. "Increase his role in recruitment and selection of personnel, broaden the authority he has to reallocate the resources placed at his disposal, increase his authority to make arrangements for community groups, including the recruitment of volunteer and paraprofessional, and enhance his authority to modify curriculum..."[27] Janowitz offers a medical analogue to further explain his concept of a changed role for the principal: "The principal is required to perform like the chief of a service; he is the doctor among the doctors; so the principal is a teacher among teachers. This may mean that he operates as the chief inservice training officer for his staff, that he is engaged in classroom teaching or that he is directly available to parents and students as well as outside community leaders."[28] Janowitz asserts that a chief clerk or administrative assistant can handle the highly programmed routine tasks that so frequently, by choice or expedience, preoccupy school principals.

In the chart that follows a taut comparison is drawn between the dimensions of traditional schooling--referred to as the Specialization Model--and the Aggregation Model. The 21 dimensions of comparison are of sufficient scope to enable the reader to freely extrapolate them into some tentative image of what a school organized along Aggregation Model lines might be like.[29]

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[25] Ibid, pp. 48-49.

[26] Ibid, p. 68.

[27] Ibid, pp. 73-74.

[28] Ibid, p. 74.

[29] Ibid, pp. 44-45.

Basic Dimensions of Specialization and Aggregation Model

Dimension	Specialization Model	Aggregation Model
Strategy of Change	Incremental innovation by specific programs Piecemeal change based on demonstration programs.	Holistic reorganization reflecting concern with organizational climate and minimum standards. Based on top level managerial direction.
Organizational Goals	Priority of academic over socialization; socialization stressed but segregated.	Interdependence of academic and socialization goals.
Division of Labor	Emphasis on increased division of labor and increased use of specialists.	Emphasis on increased authority and professional competence of classroom teacher.
Investment Pattern	Capital intensive techniques; high investment on the new media.	Labor intensive techniques; stress on subprofessionals and volunteers.
Organizational Format	School district central office levels with central office exercising administrative control.	Schools under sectors' administrative control with central office planning control.
Authority Structure	Fractionalized.	Centralized policy making and decentralization based on professional autonomy.
Curriculum Construction	External and centralized construction; independent hierarchy of curriculum specialists in school system.	Balance between external construction of materials and faculty involvement in curriculum construction; curriculum specialists as resource personnel.
Grading System	Fixed class levels, periodic grading on systemwide criteria.	Continuous development system, flexible system of grading which include both systemwide criteria and specific indicators of achievement.

Dimension	Specialization Model	Aggregation Model
School Districts	Specific and single boundaries with trend toward specialized schools.	Multiple and flexible boundaries and emphasis on adaptation of comprehensive high school.
Principal's Role	Administrative specialists	Principal teacher
Teacher's Role	(a) Teacher specialist; specialized skills and subject matter oriented; (b) Academic and vocational training.	(a) Teacher manager balance between subject matter skills and interpersonal and managerial competence; (b) Coordinator of social space of youngster and of community resources.
Classroom Management	Reduction of class size.	Flexible educational groupings depend on program.
Teaching Style	Solo practitioner.	Group practice, peer group support and use of subprofessionals and volunteers.
Subprofessionals	Limited involvement and narrow definition of tasks.	Strong emphasis; seen as general resource with teaching responsibilities.
Psychology of Learning	Cognitive psychology	Impact of institutional setting and normative order.
Control of Deviant Behavior	Emphasis on specialized personnel and specialized structure.	Maximize classroom management and teacher skills.
Evaluation	Pupil oriented.	Teacher and system oriented.
New Media	Centralized control used for regular instruction, for maximum audience manned by media personnel.	Decentralized control used for specific audiences as a supplement to regularized instruction.
Community Contacts	Specific, directed through principal and specialized community agent.	Diffusion and involvement of all educational staff members.

Dimension	Specialization Model	Aggregation Model
Teacher Education	Specialized education in education and classroom practice teaching.	Liberal arts education plus clinic exposure to diversified experiences in community and educational practice.
Inservice Training	Under the control of school education and linked to degrees.	Under public school system control and linked to professional development and curriculum development.

From Missing Competence to Competence

An assumption underlying all the formulations directed at maximizing organizational effectiveness is that there must be available as the minimum condition of effectiveness some measure of goal-related skill and competence. Whatever variation of theoretical posture one seeks in pursuing the questions, whether emphasizing human factors or system factors, none are addressed to the hopeless task of motivating functionaries to accomplish what is beyond their basic competence. If one begins with a condition of basic and fundamental non-competence in respect to major goals, then the real question relating to motivation revolves around ways to get school functionaries to want to develop, invent and acquire systemic competence necessary to realize the goal.

A formulation such as this redefines the motivational task. A very different set of considerations is examined. The schools and related institutions must move back a goal notch or two such that their common temporary major thrust is the development of conditions, practices, procedures, and organizational arrangements which are conducive to learning how to help children to learn that which all interests groups agree they ought to learn. In short, the questions relating to motivation and rewards are significant only as they are seen to bear on what we believe to be fundamentally linked to school failure amongst poor and minority children. Seen from this position the central issues are not the withholding or retardation of services as a consequence of poor morale, poor working conditions, lack of incentives, institutionalized racism, or any of a dozen other similar concerns. While these no doubt influence and affect climate and mood, the uniformly abysmal academic results of inner-city schooling cannot be explained solely by reference to those unpleasant and distasteful phenomena. One of the numerous examples which support the analysis we advance here is Fox's study of "More Effective Schools." This experimental program in New York City inundated 21 schools with teacher specialists in various fields, decreased class size, increased paraprofessional help, increased supervisory and administrative numbers, reduced nonteaching duties and introduced numerous other practices and procedures thought to contribute to heightened school effectiveness. This study found that the most discernible results of these efforts were higher morale factors among personnel. Not only did pupil achievement not show gains in most of the M.E.S. schools, but on the contrary, it was found in some to have descended below levels of achievement of comparably populated non-M.E.S. schools.

If the schools are profoundly lacking in the skills necessary to reduce the level of ignorance, then what can be done? The schools serve other social functions, such as keeping children confined in a relatively safe, warm, and more or less comfortable place for 5 to 6 hours a day, and providing them with group experiences, and other highly regarded socialization experiences; therefore, it is not likely that the revelation that they are fundamentally incompetent will result in their closing. Even a temporary shutdown for retooling is unlikely and probably futile. What seems required is a series of steps carried out concurrently within the continued operation of the schools. These actions would occur in some selected (pilot) schools in which attempts would be made to change their character from institutions which purport to teach children to institutions devoted to learning how to teach children. That is, the goal would be to transform schools from institutions which ostensibly transfer knowledge and skill to institutions which generate knowledge about how to transfer knowledge. The schools in a sense would gain some of the characteristics of the university. Perhaps because of their proximity to the problem and public pressures, they might yield better results than have been evidenced by "real" universities in their attempts to create knowledge on the subject.

Seiber's discourse seems particularly relevant to the question of problems to be encountered if one were to contemplate a redirection of school efforts toward developing competence matched to goals. The phenomena of diffuse goals, vulnerability, quasi-professionalism and control requirements combine in agonizing complexity as virtually overwhelming obstacles to change. Perhaps the two characteristics most subject to adjustment are goal-diffuseness and quasi-professionalism. Change in these would seem to require the least external dislocations and offer most promise for manipulation. In the communities afflicted most by school failure, there appears to be a developing convergence on basic academic skills as transcendent school goals.

The myths and walls of professionalism have begun to crumble under the persistent self-evidential weight of nonaccomplishment. Despite the common response of many professional educators in big cities, some possible avenues leading to change may exist. The Human Relations theory and its contemporary derivatives may be an important reference. For example, the rhetoric of teachers' groups suggests that some of the problems of school ineffectiveness are related to the structures imposed on teachers by the rigidities of bureaucracy. They assert that liberation from these would release the "creative and innovative" energies of the members of the "profession" and lead to increased pupil learning and general school effectiveness. They seek independence from patterned behavior prescribed by officials, evaluation by officials, release from prescribed curriculum parameters, and the opportunity to design and implement their own training programs. If Herzberg is correct in his assumption that "extreme job satisfaction" deriving from work content "motivators" leads to increased organizational effectiveness, then perhaps one ought to sponsor an experiment which uses the force of this phenomenon. The major goal of such a pilot would be the creation of conditions conducive to helping teachers to learn how to teach. Hypotheses about the nature of school conditions conducive to helping teachers to learn how to teach would have to be generated, instrumented and installed. Evaluation of such an enterprise would then use criteria against which the achievement of that single goal would be measured. Pupil achievement would not be a criterion reference at this point. If it was ascertained that the goals of the creation of conditions conducive to helping teachers learn how to teach had been durably and reliably achieved, one then ought to be concerned with the efficacy of what it was teachers thought they had learned.

The design of such a pilot might take into serious reference the findings of Lewin, Lippitt, White, and other more recent Human Relations advocates regarding leadership-participation modes and communication channels. The best and most appropriate participatory organizational arrangements should be manifested. Some of these may be found in the works of Likert, Miles, Watson, and others.

What is tentatively envisioned, then, is a school organized around a participatory scheme in which the principal actors are teachers and pupils. The authority to specify conditions of work and programs and the power to select and reselect leadership in the endeavor would be vested in the group. As previously noted, the main charge of the pilot would be the creation of conditions conducive to the development of competence amongst participants. The pilot groups would be accountable to the local board for the results it achieved with children and for the accomplishment of major experimental goals. Results relating to the former could not in our view be worse than those produced under previous arrangements and might be better if only from unrelenting Hawthorne effects likely to be generated by a dynamic series of events.

In any case, schools presently operating on a foundation of insecurity bred by fundamental lack of skill would inevitably benefit by exposure to a structure deliberately designed not to protect, manage, and thus nurture and perpetuate incompetence but rather designed to candidly and freely search for competence.

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Chapter 5

FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL ROLES

by

Richard Uliberri
Weber State University

Our forefathers were careful not to create a strong central government. Instead, they placed great faith for the protection of their sacred ideologies of liberty and equality in the proposition that that government is best which governs least. This method of creating governmental structures seemed to protect certain ideologies but was not designed for efficiency nor organizational unity. Today, educational government faces greater stresses than ever before. Many of our educational problems simply relate to shortcomings in the structure and processes of educational government.

The present government of public education is a complex matrix of formal and informal parts extending from the home to the community, region, State and national governmental levels. Many problems in the public schools arise from the sheer complexity and lack of clear policy on division of responsibility among the various educational agents. Specifically, the chief problems are: inadequate structure of educational governance; lack of adequate knowledge, research and transferability; deficiency of services and controls; financial weakness and inequality; and inadequate and ineffective participation of a broad spectrum of the population.

It will be suggested that the governance system be altered. The contention in this essay is that a better and more equitable balance of Federal, State, local, and community participation is needed in which State and Federal Governments play a larger role in educational affairs. A more active participation on their part will reduce the role of local governance. Only State and Federal Governments have the power and resources to provide the exogenous shocks necessary to initiate long-needed reformation of the educational system.

The leadership role of the Federal Government is particularly crucial. The Congress exists as the most obvious vehicle for change through its power to enact legislation and appropriate funds. In any reform effort, Congress must carry the principal burden, not only to provide the financial resources, but to provide support for the national interests. The Federal Government has made important contributions to public educational opportunity; but its efforts are also hampered by the nemesis of federalism. In discussing this problem David K. Cohen commented on efforts to evaluate educational programs by stating that:

> The common element in all these difficulties is that the Office of Education is largely powerless to remedy them. Random assignment of schools to treatments and securing proper control groups are the most obvious cases; lack of funds to generate adequate samples of experimental classrooms or parents are other manifestations of the same phenomenon. Although there is no doubt some problems could have been eased by improved management, no amount of forethought or efficiency can produce money or power where there is none. Nor is it easy to see how the Office of Education could effectively compel project sponsors not to change some aspects of their strategies or not to alter their motion of program aims.
>
> The experience thus far with Follow-Through suggests, then, that the serious obstacles to experimentation are political; first, power in the educational system is almost completely decentralized (at least from a national perspective), and Federal experimentation must conform to this pattern; second, the resources allocated to eliminating educational disadvantage are small when compared to other Federal priorities, which indicates the government's relatively low political investment in such efforts. The barriers to evaluation are simply another manifestation of the obstacles to federally initiated reform when most power is local and when reform is a relatively low national priority.[1]

Haskew asserts: "While autonomous localism in determination of educational policy and action has, in some instances, shown itself recently to be capable of impressive responses to such compulsions, it is still doubtful that all necessary execution of change can be comprehended by the localistic framework now existing."

A national will that places a greater value on public educational attainment than on the perpetuation of traditional educational governance systems appears to be a sine qua non for school reform.

In the Federal system of the United States education as an institution can be improved only slightly unless the decision to include more Federal and State participation is made. The demands which are now made upon schools far exceed the limitations of local control and effort. In a critical period that includes problems of school finance, unequal achievement and strained race relations, the schools as agents of the whole society must make their contribution to the amelioration of the problems and the deletion of discrimination and racial and ethnic antipathies across the national spectrum. In the mobile and interdependent society with its dissemination of educational information across the Nation, schools must change if they are to cease with provincial instruction.

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[1] D. K. Cohen, "Politics and Research: Evaluation of Social Action Programs in Education." Review of Educational Research, V. 40, No. 2, pp. 213-238.

The present needs demand a consistent, cohesive, and comprehensive approach to the instruction of the Nation's youth. Only a coordination of Federal, State, and local policymaking can bring this about. The Nation needs a system of high-quality schools as much as it needs a system of high-quality roads. By comparison, the Nation did not have the highway system it needed until a partnership was formed for that purpose by the three Federal governmental systems. A new, viable principle of Federal-State-local relationships must be formulated to permit the development of better schools.

Before presenting the case for a reformation of traditional public-school governance, it will be necessary to outline the present situation and then proceed with an examination of areas needing reformation.

Governmental Structure and Educational Policy

The American constitution was silent concerning public education; so, by default the principle of "delegated" powers fixed the legal control of the schools within the purview of State government. The States, however, have been slow to exercise initiative. Tradition has, consequently, developed primary control at the local level. Primary does not mean total control, however. More and more responsibilities have accrued to State and Federal agencies.

Within the Federal Government there are three *de jure* agencies which affect educational control. The first is the executive branch. The executive executes policy initiatives to such an extent that often the work of Congress is that of discussing and ratifying executive policy rather than introducing new programs. An excellent example is the "Great Society" programs sponsored by President Johnson and essentially "ratified" by the Congress. On the executive side, one finds that the administrative structures have a very great part to play in the preparation of programs for executive sponsorship. The structures include such agencies as the U. S. Office of Education and the Office of Management and Budget. These agencies draft most of the proposals which enter an executive program. In the process of drafting, there is normally extensive consultation with other interested agencies and reconciliation of many issues on the executive level before the program is prepared for submission to Congress. A Presidential program is normally introduced into Congress through members of the President's party.

The next branch of the Federal Government which relates to educational policy is the Congress. The process of creating legislation in the Congress must go through the committee structures. One must recognize the powers of committee chairmen, the extensive use of subcommittees, and the extensive powers of subcommittee chairmen. Educational problems, like all other issues, most often become the special responsibility of a few Congressmen who control legislation in the committee stages. In these committee stages, party differences are likely to be somewhat less significant than when the legislation comes to a general vote on the Congressional floor. There is good communication in the committee between the legislative branches and administrative agencies. It must be kept in mind that bargaining is an essential reality of policymaking, both inside and outside of Congress. Very often the positions of Congressmen conform closely to the positions of organized groups. In turn, organized groups determine their positions in consultation with members of Congress who indicate to them the limits within which action is likely to take place.

The judicial branch of the national government has come to play a major part in American education. The Supreme Court and the lower Federal courts have had an uncommonly great impact on education. Immediate examples of the impact are the decisions in 1954 of the Brown vs. the Board of Education case at Topeka and the current decisions in California and Texas relating to the tax base for education within the States.

All major branches of the Federal Government affect public education. The various branches are not well coordinated with each other or with State and local levels of educational government. There are four factors which have led to this uncoordinated state of affairs at the Federal level. One is the piecemeal development of educational activities through support of various groups and special interests. The second is the use of educational activity as a method to further particular interests for which a department or agency has major concern. Another is the necessity of the Federal Government to cope with a number of responsibilities which could not be shifted readily to educational agents in the States. Finally, Congressional action often reflects the basic desire of some Congressmen and others to avoid Federal centralization of education.

The States have decisionmaking machinery similar to that of the national government. The position of the governor is analogous to that of the national President. He is the principal determinor of programs for the legislature. Programs which are introduced independently of his support are unlikely to secure serious legislative consideration. Because of shorter legislative sessions in the States, a governor's veto is often more absolute than that of the President. Thus, in the shaping of State policy toward education, the governor's position is very important.

State legislative action on educative matters is primarily conditioned by two factors: the relatively short legislative session, and the fact that most States often have programs for legislative action prepared by agencies such as boards and commissions. These are often closely associated with governors' recommendations. As a result of these two factors, legislators often react only to programs prepared in this manner. Frequently they have little time to pursue an independent study of the issues involved in the bills drafted.

Those who support legislation are likely to support it because of the endorsement of the party leaders whom they respect and because they accept the special position of those members who are the spokesmen on the education issues.

In the field of education, the sources of opposition are likely to be those which are concerned either with the level of expenditure or with the distribution of the tax burden.

State courts, like Federal courts, are sometimes called to rule upon particular educational issues. These decisions inevitably place the courts in educational policy-control roles.

Nearly all States have State boards for the purpose of supervision of elementary and secondary education. These boards perform policy-making roles by carrying out the general directives of State legislatures. The board oversees State education departments which have various administrative responsibilities. State departments, especially through their executive officers, inevitably become involved in policymaking since they often possess expertise needed by State board members and legislators.

Among the kinds of decisions which have come to be made at the state level are the following:

1. Most States establish the program scope such as kindergarten, vocational education or junior college.

2. The legislature usually delegates through the State board of education the prerogative to set minimum standards for curriculum pupil promotion and graduation and, in some cases, instructional materials.

3. Some State boards adopt a standard course of study or detailed guidelines for subject areas, such as civics or mathematics.

4. In some cases, States adopt particular textbooks that are distributed to all public schools.

5. State regulations and statutes are detailed with respect to requirements for certification of teachers. Most States stipulate the length of a training program, define its content and accredit teacher-training institutions.

6. States figure heavily in the financing program of the schools.

7. The ever-increasing involvement of the Federal Government through State departments of education has made the State department of education's role a more vital one in school affairs.

At the local or district level, there are four classes of individuals involved in formulating education policy. First are the boards of education staffed by lay members who are usually the civic and business leaders in the community. Rarely do these boards reflect all social, cultural, and economic levels of the district constituency. The next group is the professionals--school administrators and teachers. Third are the parents of the children and other qualified voters in the district. Finally, there are the local civic officials, such as mayors and councilmen. Inequities of representation among these four groups exist for parents and voters as well as teachers. The professionals who are most directly concerned with education often have a disproportionately small voice in policy determination at the local level.

In addition to the de jure forces in educational government, there are other educational organizations and interest groups which may play vigorous roles in policymaking. The most important of these organizations are usually the State teachers association, the State school administrators organization, the State school board association, and the various parent-teacher associations. In many State capitols, there are also representatives of teacher unions active in attempting to influence policy. There are many other private associations whose interests are not exclusively tied to education but who become involved in educational decisions--State chambers of commerce, taxpayers groups, and labor unions. The actions of any or all of these groups can help occasion change and any change will likely have ramifications upon their activities.

Other nonlegal but important agents in American education are the various private philanthropic foundations. Most of these operate at the national level and generally operate as a nonlocal manifestation of educational concern. Very often their activities reinforce those of government and have important effects upon the type and quality of public educational outcomes.

Many of the foundations assume an important role by providing venture capital for research and examination. Since a great deal of their influence is directed through public and private universities, the effect on public education is both indirect and direct. One example of the latter was the Carnegie Foundation sponsorship of the James B. Conant studies. Conant's studies resulted in eight books examining schools, teacher education, and State departments of education. The books were addressed to interested citizens but read avidly by educators. At least one State legislature threatened to make the Conant standards recommendations for high schools mandatory while the Education Commission of the States grew directly out of one of Conant's books. With foundation help, Conant has thus influenced educational policy in the country.[2]

Other illustrations of foundation influence can be provided but suffice to say that they are important agents in our educational process, and their unique contribution is particularly important to an examination of educational reform.

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[2] F. Campbell and D. H. Layton, Policy Making for American Education. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1969), pp. 47-48.

Values of American Education

That schools function as efficiently as they do under these circumstances of governmental complexity and uncertainty is quite remarkable. However, today's school needs and in fact requires better structures. For this reason, it is time that the Nation sets itself to the task of refining and improving the system of governing schools. As long as the processes continue to occur in happenstance, the efficiency of the schools will increasingly suffer. A look at national educational policy planning will illustrate the necessity for change.

In school districts, there are usually persons charged with developing policy positions. These are the professional staffs of the schools. At State levels, the policy planning process often operates as a part of the political fields. At the Federal level there has been little official educational policy planning at all. The myths of federalism, supported by some other ancient myths, have combined to prevent those agencies which might plan effective educational policies from doing so. Political considerations too often have overruled educational planning considerations. This is true of both national political parties. What is often apparent is the subordination of education to every other level of governmental priority, especially budget balancing. While there is very little policy planning at the Federal level, it must be remembered that there is quite a bit of policymaking done there. What happens is that much inefficiency and inequality of educational outcomes result from the accident of American federalistic educational governance.

Of crucial importance in a study of American educational governance is a look at fundamental value conflicts which condition the governmental outcomes. Among the most important is the tradition of local control which has developed to the extent that it occupies a hallowed place in the minds of Americans. Unfortunately, tradition sometimes produces erroneous beliefs and is too often used to conceal underlying values which relate to self-interest. Individuals sometimes use the local control principle to preserve their resources for the well-being of their children and their immediate community. Local control in this instance becomes a technique to perpetuate inequalities in educational services.

Beyond these conflicts are other value considerations of fundamental importance. Of basic significance in the American system are liberty and equality. Both are derived from our basic documents and are fundamentals of American democracy. They are both propounded with religious fervor but, strangely, they have often been in conflict with each other. The most obvious example was during the War between the States. The South propounded the defense of liberty, while the North defended the principle of equality. President Lincoln spoke of this dilemma in the Gettysburg address stating that this nation was "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" and wondered "whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure."

Today, defenders of local control properly espouse the principle of liberty and its value to democracy to defend the right of local educational autonomy. It is true that a sound argument can be made to support this principle on that premise. However, it is also quite clear that the provision of equality of educational outcomes will require the action of strong central and State governments. For instance, it has only been through actions of the national government that there has been, or indeed can be, a national and systematic approach in dealing with the education problems of the disadvantaged. While it is true that some States and even some local areas have supported principles of school desegregation and compensatory education, the fact is that many more have not cooperated. One wonders what the educational plight of the minority and the poor would be if the Federal Government was not an intercessor.

In this dilemma the principles of liberty and equality are once again antagonistic to each other. This problem has serious ramifications; for to suspend the principle of equality of educational opportunity to protect the capricious exercise of freedom to miseducate certain students makes the principle of liberty more a liability than an asset. While it is true that democracy depends on liberty, it is also true that the concept of equal rights is necessary to democracy; consequently, the absence of true equality is by invitation denial of democracy.

Grant McConnell in his book Private Power and American Democracy speaks to this subject:

> Federalism and the interest group "pluralism" with which it is associated today are instruments of conservatism and particularism. The ideology of "grass roots democracy" and the gradual growth of power in small units by the institutional processes of accommodation have probably betrayed us into yielding too much of the republic's essential values of liberty and equality. The dangers to democracy in the United States have rarely been anomie and mass movements. The real threats, often adeptly met by cooperation to group leaders, have come from narrowly constituted interest groups...A politics of interest groups and small constituent units is unlikely to develop its own checks. Government offers the best means of limiting both the conflicts between such groups and the agreements by which conflicts are ended or avoided...Many of the values Americans

> hold in highest esteem can only be realized through large constituency, some indeed only by a genuinely national constituency.[3]

In the consideration of conflict between freedom and equality, it must always be remembered that the principles refer to individual rights and not to that of institutions. When the freedom principle of local control is weighed against the equality right of the individual the principle must give way to the individual. For these reasons, the principle of local control, although espoused by sound principles, must be sublimated in a proportion equal to a reasonable protection of equality for the purpose of educational equity.

Local Control of Schools

An examination of local school government is essential in the consideration of educational reform. For the purposes of this examination, local control is not to be understood as being synonomous with community involvement. While the argument is made that local control must give way to a larger Federal and State role, more community involvement also becomes necessary.

The greatest difficulty in inducing needed change comes from attempting to overcome the "sacred cows" which have built up over the years concerning American education. It is important to recognize that there are discrepancies between facts and commonly held assumptions about such things as democracy and education.

One of these assumptions is that there exists an inevitable tie of reciprocal dependence between democracy and local control. They are not mutually dependent for either one may exist without benefit of the other,[4] depending upon the political system. Related to this is the notion that in this country education is primarily a local responsibility. This is mostly myth which derives its support from historical accident. At the time when public schools were financed by local funds, regulated by local ordinance and governed by local school officials and administrators, this assumption had a basis of reality. In today's world neither regulation nor financing for our schools is any longer the sole responsibility of local government.[5]

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[3] G. McConnell, Private Power and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 6.

[4] C. A. Bowers, I. Housego and D. Dyke (Eds.) Education and Social Policy: Local Control of Education (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 24-25.

[5] E. L. Morphet and C. O. Ryan (Eds.) Designing Education for the Future: An Eight State Project. Emerging Designs for Education: Program, Organization, Operation, and Finance: Reports Prepared for an Area Conference (Denver: May, 1968), p. 73.

Incumbent upon these two erroneous beliefs, a great myth continues to permeate educational circles concerning the sanctity of local control. This myth begins with the assertion that the framers of the national constitution preferred that the local areas attend to education. The truth is that the national Constitution was written before there was much public education and, subsequently, the growth of the schools simply occurred in such a manner as to escape interactment with higher government. Even the States, which the courts have determined are the legal guardians of education, entered the act more as onlookers than as full participants.

The history of education would show that the present system is an outgrowth of tradition and practice rather than plan and execution. Even though tradition and practice in our system are as important as codification, the fact remains that any system so created may outlive its usefulness and require modification to remain relevant to the modern needs of a society.

When the first efforts at public education were made in this country, it took 3 days to get from New York to Philadelphia and back by horse. Today, we can fly around the world in less time than that. In those days the country had an agricultural economy. The small population lived in self-sufficient communities surrounded by a few infant cities. Schools emerged in these isolated communities. Local control was a natural occurrence out of the cultural, geographic and economic conditions of that time. In contrast, today we are an extremely mobile people in the world's most highly industrialized environment. Since these and other technological changes have an impact upon social, economic, and political affairs, it is an anachronism to hold to a concept of autonomous local government in today's world. One scholar discusses it in the following manner:

> The mass mobility of students from their home communities after leaving school raises some doubts about the appropriateness of having them educated in a unique fashion as if their home community were to be their location for life. Also, in our kind of society, the assumption that a school board is more personal than higher levels of government is somewhat questionable. In an age when most news is dispersed by mass media rather than by word-of-mouth, the more personal levels of government, in a certain sense, are those which receive the greatest news coverage. Thus, there is, in a way, far greater personalization of provincial or state governments (or central) which get extensive coverage than there is of school boards, which often operate with a near absence of public attention.[6]

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[6] C. A. Bowers, I. Housego and D. Dyke (Eds.) Education and Social Policy: Local Control of Education (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 54.

Schools no longer exist in isolated communities. Only the most prosperous local school districts are able to afford the financial burdens of their educational needs. In fields other than education the Nation has acknowledged that when growth is great and when it affects the general welfare, greater governmental involvement and guidance is in the public interest. In the education of children decisions have been based on the premise that a public policy suitable to the eighteenth century is appropriate for today.

Actually, as is the way with myths, pure local control has not existed for a long time, for the Federal and State governments have long exercised considerable influence over educational processes. The myth of localism is perpetuated by policy which is fragmentary and diffuse. In a situation where the national government pretends not to make policy, the State governments make no more than they must. Most local governments do not know how to make adequate policy; an impasse in the development of good national education policy exists. To overcome this, a realistic local, State, national partnership must be forged.[7,8]

Related to this matter is the erroneous belief that educational policies emanate only from legal codes which specifically govern education. This may have been true when only local areas had laws relating to schools, but today other laws of the Federal and State governments may have as great or greater impact in shaping the character of the educational program than does specific school legislation. For example: Highway and street legislation may affect the transportation potential of students to and from schools, for in meeting the State matching requirements for Federal funds, States surely shorted other State needs, education being among them. The fact is that in an interdependent society such as ours, the list of examples is endless. Only closer coordination at all levels of a Federal system of government can positively affect this circumstance.[9,10]

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[7] D. K. Cohen, "Politics and Research: Evaluation of Social Action Programs in Education." Review of Educational Research, V. 40, No. 2, p. 222.

[8] Report of the New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education, V. 1, pp. 2.42-2.43.

[9] D. K. Cohen, "Politics and Research: Evaluation of Social Action Programs in Education." Review of Educational Research, V. 40, No. 2, p. 220.

[10] E. L. Morphet and C. O. Ryan (Eds.), Designing Education for the Future: An Eight State Project. Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Education. Reports Prepared for the Third Area Conference (Denver: June, 1967), pp. 145-148.

The assumption has been made that local control encourages diversity and takes account of individual and community differences. However, this thesis is not well supported by the available evidence. The local unit often tends to be conservative and poorly informed of new research, methods, and techniques in education. Local lay boards often stifle venturesome efforts; obsolescence of policies is inhibiting to new ideas. Concerning diversity, the fact is that a sameness permeates most American education. Rather than respecting individual differences, uniformity to the local norms is demanded. Too often local control means parochialism, provincialism and resistance to change. Today's secularization and egalitarianism demand a change in this type of control.

Another aspect of the myth is that local control means a responsiveness to local communities. As previously stated, some segments of the community--poor people and the ethnic minorities do not, under present conditions, get any voice in school affairs. Any new or reformative arrangements of school governance will have to adequately relate to this very important matter: justice, as well as the persistent demands of these groups will require it.

Another of the sacred cows of education in the United States has been the belief or attitude that education should stay out of politics. Education's past tradition has been to look on the political world as a strange and evil place, one to be avoided at all costs. At the level of local educational government, the separation sought has been rather successfully achieved. Education exists in its own environment, has its own governors, and its own geography. It is no trick to make local education an independent branch of government and to accord it wide powers of self-government, including fiscal authority. However, at the State level, this separation is much more difficult to maintain since educational matters have a way of spilling over into other public affairs. At the Federal level, the urge for separation leads to insoluble problems. For example, one of the most important pieces of national education legislation in recent years was the Defense Highway Act because the act provided nine Federal dollars for each State dollar. The absorption of existing State dollars in this enterprise, of course, caused a depletion in the number of dollars which might have gone into other enterprises, including education.[11] In this situation one finds that the national and State scenes offer better opportunities for change than local districts which can record only the kind of interest which is capable of being organized and led in relatively small populations.

From an examination of the myths and assumptions of the efficacy of local control, the conclusion is that local control really does not exist in any kind of autonomous manner; if it did it was for a short time only; there is presently need for realignments among local, State, and national agencies. Since State and Federal Governments already participate in education, that fact must be dealt with, not denied nor simply ignored. As communication and transportation make the country smaller and smaller, and as technological advances provide new methods, while at the same time making education more complex, Federal and State roles are essential indeed. What this implies is that public education may not survive without better cooperation between Federal, State, and local areas.

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[11] W. P. McClure and V. Miller (Eds.), Government of Public Education for Adequate Policy Making. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1960), pp. 70-72.

The States' and National Government's Role

Since our educational needs are national in scope, it follows that national and State, as well as local government, should play an active role in public education. Since strong national participation runs counter to long-cherished views of education as an individual and local concern, three conditions may ameliorate this alarm: local autonomy has never existed as much as some might believe; the present position in world affairs necessitates careful attention to a global role; and national domestic programs require national attention as much as external security.

Education should seek involvement in national policymaking rather than seek detachment. Independence from politics has usually been sought for education within the Federal framework of government. At a time when education is in trouble, there is now a necessity to take strong action to change that thinking. For one thing, education is faced with having to make requests for a significantly larger share of the national and State resources. It must, consequently, abandon its position of not being political and become politically active. While, in the past, education's position would provide for the resources to which it was accustomed, that attitude now provides critical restrictive limitations.

It must be determined which level of government is most responsive to change; then efforts must be initiated to make that government responsive to national education needs. Education will need to plunge into politics lest noneducation politics continue making the decisions that affect it. The no-politics doctrine of school men is inconsistent with reality. Political skills are essential to the health of education and particularly to the process of meaningful change in education.

The schools could occupy an enormously strong position but their isolation from general political issues makes it difficult for them to get support for the vast demands for income, manpower and change which are necessary to make education vibrant and effective. A high level of knowledge and skills is needed as much as resources for national security or for better housing, alleviation of ecological pollution and the solution of other peacetime problems. In addition, it becomes increasingly clear that decisions for other social services are being made beyond the local level. Since many of these services are closely related to schools, it is incongruous not to expect that many educational policy decisions are also made beyond the local level. Under these circumstances, local autonomy or independence for government of public education is no longer tenable.

Without increased involvement from both Federal and State governments, American education will be hard-pressed to even maintain the status quo. If nothing else, State and Federal Governments must be exercised to assume the massive funding which is most certainly required to properly motivate the educational systems. The inability of local governments to provide this kind of funding is patently obvious. Since property taxation has probably reached its limits, only income taxation can provide the amounts needed. This is, with the exception of limited local options, a prerogative of State and national governments. Since it is considerably more economical for the Federal Government to collect taxes, it is probably logical that it should assume the major role in educational funding. Funding must not only be massive, the distribution of funds must be equitable. The present system of educational funding results in serious inequities.

The national government is the agency that must remedy inequities. Only a national level analysis of educational needs and allocation of resources can define national priorities and provide sufficient resources to solve major problems in regions, States or local districts. Whenever a unit less than the national level establishes norms and compares its results to those norms, pockets of inequity can be hidden and ignored. The national government must remain as the central agency to determine where the greatest need is and provide the resources to alleviate problems.

However, the ability to pay is not the only factor contributing to financial inequities. Another serious problem results from the negative decisions or lack of decisions often made in local areas to provide consistent and substantial funding.

American education must do more than survive. It must change to meet the new demands. An examination of the past indicates that our educational system is indeed receptive to change by Federal and State intervention, although their efforts were slow in starting and only recently intense. The national government's first efforts can be traced to the Northwest Ordinances prior to the creation of the national constitution. The ordinances provided for land for school use with no strings attached. During the Civil War the Morrill Act provided for land for colleges. Little more of consequence was provided until the 20th century. In 1917, the Smith-Hughes Act was passed by Congress to provide vocational and home economics training for high school students. After that, it was not until World War II that any further enactments seriously brought the national government into the educational scene. During and after the war, acts were passed to assist Federal impact areas and returning war veterans. It was not until the 1950's that the Federal Government became involved in earnest.

When Congress concluded that this country was lagging behind the Soviet Union in defense capabilities, legislation was adopted to assist the teaching of science, mathematics, and foreign languages in the public schools. At the same time, increased appropriations were provided for the National Science Foundation established in 1950 to encourage the development of curriculums for the training of scientists and engineers. The 1958 National Defense Education Act further supported these kinds of programs.

Following these concerns with defense, the Federal Government turned its attention to problems of poverty and racial issues. Major legislation of the 1960's focused upon the poor and minorities. While not all this legislation specifically mentioned the schools, very little of it failed to affect them. Some, such as the vocational acts, the Education Professions Development Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, treated educational matters directly. Others, such as the Economic Opportunity Act and the Civil Rights Act, have had more indirect, but often just as important results. As a matter of fact, programs such as Head Start and Upward Bound, which emanate from the Economic Opportunity Act, have created significant expectations for educational achievement on the part of the so-called disadvantaged populations. Head Start, in particular, has led to increased community pressure upon local school control for change.[12]

As important as these Federal legislative enactments may have been for education, they have been overshadowed by Federal judicial decisions. The great watershed was the Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (1954). That decision which ruled against the "separate but equal" doctrine of the 1896 Plessey vs. Ferguson court statement struck a blow at school segregation. A year later, in a second Brown decision, the court ruled on the issue of compliance. The first of those two decisions stated that:

> Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally

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[12] S. W. Tiedt, The Role of the Federal Government in Education. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education.[13]

Many years before, the court had begun to chip away at educational inequality. In 1929, the decision in Meyer vs. Nebraska asserted that:

> without doubt, (liberty) denotes not only freedom from bodily restraint, but also the right of the individual...to engage in any of the common occupations of life, acquire useful knowledge,... and, generally, to enjoy those privileges long recognized at common law as essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men.[14]

More recently court decisions have expressed the right to education in these terms:

> It would seem beyond argument that the right to receive a public school education is a personal right or liberty. Consequently, the burden of justifying any school rule or regulation limiting or terminating that right is on the school authorities.[15]

The power of the national government, while not absolute to effect change, is clearly demonstrated in these instances. That local school districts undercut national determinations in the face of clear and mandatory decisions and that desegregation continues at a glacial pace is testimony to local intransigence and default in meeting the challenges of national education interests.

Another indication of reform through judicial review is change which will undoubtedly occur as a result of preliminary court decisions on the inequities of local property taxation. In Serrano vs. Priest, the court concluded that:

> Recognizing as we must that the right to an education in our public schools is a fundamental interest which cannot be conditioned on wealth, we can discern no compelling state purpose necessitating the present method of financing.[16]

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[13] Brown vs. Board of Education, 745 ct., pp. 681, 691.

[14] Meyer vs. Nebraska, 262 U.S., pp. 390, 399.

[15] Ordway vs. Hardgraves, D.C., Mass., Civil Action No. 71-540-C, March 11, 1971.

[16] Serrano vs. Priest, L.A., 29820.

Great change by judicial action is indicative of reaction to crises; the national government's recent involvement in education has obviously been in reaction to crises. In the 1950's, it was reaction to defense needs and in the 1960's to poverty and discrimination. At present, the problem of environmental pollution is capturing national concern. It is predictable that the Federal Government will move to influence education in a manner to reduce pollution. Attention to this crisis, however, may have the effect of diluting interest and resources away from defense and the attack on poverty and race discrimination. If this pattern is followed, the Federal Government may jump from crisis to crisis without establishing sound roots in educational concerns. Surely the national government's participation in education should be broader based than that.

State participation in education over the years has been more stable, if not as dramatic as the Federal Government's. Having direct constitutional authority to exercise jurisdiction over education, their potential for control and improvement has never been fully exercised. There is some reason to believe, however, that change is presently occurring. As the cost of education increases and local districts fall further behind in their ability to fund their educational needs, the demands on State governments increase. As taxpayers revolt, courts question the legalities of local property taxation. Local boards are unable to deal with demands of collective bargaining because of inability to provide adequate financing. As professional associations and unions come to exert strong political pressure, more and more attention is being focused on the States to take action. As the States do take increased action, it will of course diminish local authority; and as in the case of Federal mandates and inducements, any increase in State activity will create tensions and conflicts. This general movement is probably the only way to make meaningful adjustments.

There is good reason to believe that the improvement of the Nation's schools, which is now so sorely needed, can be substantially enhanced by leverage from State and national levels. Recent reports from Detroit, for example, indicate that at long last Federal support for that city's schools has begun to make a difference. After 5 years of providing funding, a downward trend of academic performance has been stopped. This, incidentally, is indicative of the need for consistent and long-range assistance rather than just one-or-two-year shot-in-the-arm programing.

Orlosky and Smith in their work A Study of Educational Change concluded that "it is quite clear that the Federal Government has been an influential and strong force in the determination of school practices and programs."[17] The Rand Report prepared for the President's

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[17] D. Orlosky and B. O. Smith, A Study of Educational Change, USOE Grant Number OEC-0-71-3958, (September, 1971), p. 59.

Commission of School Finance, states that "innovation in a school system depends upon exogenous shocks to the system," and that "whatever the size of the system, innovation is not apt to come from within the system. Outside pressures, from the community or from the Federal Government, are likely to be needed." Finally it concludes: "*The literature that we have examined suggests that federal influence is important in getting innovation into urban school systems.*"[18] The report quotes, among others, T. Legget's assertion that "federal funding for the introduction of nonprofessionals and for the expansion of the existing programs is clearly of prime importance."[19]

Gittell and Hollander in their work *Six Urban School Districts* categorically state that:

> it is clear that federal aid has in its short history influenced innovation in all of the cities. Increased interest in and development of compensatory education programs in each of the cities is readily discernible. Federal project officers have been appointed in all of the school systems and generally their role is one of planning and program development...Their offices were the most stimulating at headquarters. Receptivity to experimentation was more evident in these offices than it was elsewhere in the system...for political as well as economic reasons, federal funding has pushed school people to innovation.
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> In all of the cities federal aid has been used to institute pre-school education, in-service training (particularly for the teacher of the disadvantaged), work study projects, summer school, adult education and remedial reading programs. In almost all of the cities these programs were nonexistent or minimal prior to federal aid. The Banneker District in St. Louis, the only large scale innovation in compensatory education, was entirely financed with federal funds.
>
> In some of the cities programs have been developed in educational television and curriculum research which otherwise might not have emerged.[20]

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare publication entitled *The Effectiveness of Compensatory Education* contains a cautious but positive report on Federal compensatory programs. It stated that "the drift of the evidence seems to be unmistakable; that compensatory education often enhances the achievement of poor children," and that "in only a few states--notably Texas and Louisiana among those reviewed--does it appear that compensatory education had negligible or very minor effects."[21]

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[18] Harvey A. Averch, et al., *How Effective is Schooling?: A Critical Review and Synthesis of Research Findings* (Rand, 1972), pp. 98, 156-157.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[20] M. Gittell and T. E. Hollander, *Six Urban School Districts*. (New York: Praeger, 1968), p. 22.

In view of the possibilities for improvement of the schools inherent in a greater role for Federal and State Governments, a recommendation is hereby made for the restructuring of educational government in such a manner as to allow for a broader and more equal participation by these agencies.

Cooperative Responsibility

The need for a more appropriate partnership is occasioned by the crises facing today's public schools. The most serious school issue handed down through our past is the persistence of gross inequalities of educational opportunity resulting from local school control and the absence of minimum national standards. The traditions of public education were adapted to the social, cultural, regional, and religious diversity norms of the country, but this advantage was purchased at the expense of extremely uneven minimum performance.

"The fact that more than 80 percent of our children have achieved an educational level above the minimum requirements for modern literacy and employment" is a credit to American schools, but is not sufficient either in terms of percentage or educational level. We have succeeded in reaching children who come from homes where education is valued and where home experiences augment the schoolroom but we have not effectively reached children whose backgrounds did not prepare them for schoolwork. Our schools must be transformed to reach all children.[22]

This need is augmented by a new set of circumstances created by the stress on the labor market under modern industrialization. Today's schools must now accept responsibility for all youngsters who will not attend college but will need to provide fair competition in the labor market. At present, only about 6 percent of our labor force is comprised of unskilled labor, yet it is estimated that between 15 and 20 percent of the population do not have sufficient general literacy and skill level to qualify for higher levels of employment. Automation has sharply reduced the need for unskilled labor but there are many new areas such as health and social services which are still in short supply of qualified personnel. These open fields, however, demand professional, semiprofessional or technical competence. In order to provide opportunity for the required improvement in competence to enter these fields as well as to keep the economy healthy, schools must provide students with much better learning opportunities than it has afforded and now schools may also be mandated to provide reeducative programs for those whose jobs have been eliminated by automation, or the development of new techniques, materials and devices.[23]

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[21] The Effectiveness of Compensatory Education. (Washington, D. C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1972), pp. 6-7.

[22] E. L. Morphet and C. O. Ryan (Eds.), Designing Education for the Future: An Eight State Project. Implications for Education of Prospective Changes in Society. Reports prepared for the Second Area Conference (Denver: June, 1967), pp. 37-38.

The resources and practices of most American public schools are presently inadequate for this task. One writer states:

> In many ways, our schools are still preparing children for rural, spacious living, and delivering the old easy answers even though the questions have changed...The institutions we are conserving are overwhelmingly and harmfully obsolete.[24]

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Urban Education Task Force of 1970 concluded that:

> From a completely practical standpoint--idealism aside, Federal investment in education can be an extremely profitable venture, in that money that was formerly spent for programs, such as welfare, stronger police forces, and other preventive or stop-gap measures could be freed for spending in other areas, since educational programs create revenue and jobs. The costs of not educating people to take responsible positions in society are striking.[25]

This task force also reported that the ever increasing costs of welfare in this country could be lowered

> by educating people, getting them off the welfare rolls and into the occupational structure. Aside from the

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[23] Ibid.

[24] M. D. Fantini, The Reform of Urban Schools. (Washington, D. C.: N. & A., 1970), p. 7.

[25] Urban School Crisis: The Problem and Solutions. (Proposed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Urban Education Task Force, 1970).

> financial benefits of such action, it is impossible to measure the savings in terms of the effects on the individual lives involved and the ultimate reduction in human conflict.[26]

Development in educational government might follow one of four courses:

(1) A traditional emphasis on local control,

(2) A new balance of control with States exercising their constitutional responsibilities, but including more Federal participation because of national concerns, providing greater assistance to local levels and allowing communities to become involved in educational concerns,

(3) An arrangement with the Federal role regionalized in States relating to the region rather than the Nation,

(4) A system of central education dictated by the national government with control vested in that government.

A strong case can be made for the second proposition. It would be preferable to build a style of Federal, State, and local relationships that would place high priority on cooperation between the various levels rather than competition and suspicion. It also is vital that the strength of the State and national levels remain intact as total units rather than having divisions at the national and State levels that would divide their influence and weaken their effectiveness. It would appear that what is needed or what might possibly be achieved in the pluralistic society is a compromise between extreme provincialism and extreme centralization. This, in recognition that "a balanced point of view is a vague point of equilibrium between two platitudes," still seems greatly desirable.

The idea of balance is particularly appropriate in the educational system in this country. While support for a plurality of values and interests is desirable, those values and interests should not be integrated by a dominance of majority over minority interests. On the other hand, national interests often demand, if not a consensus at least a willingness to act in a manner to protect the common good. As a consequence, the system must be one which meets both apparently alien requirements. Such a system of cooperative responsibility would provide for a compromise of effective educational government midway between the present diffuse system of supposed local control and a strict Federal educational policy structure. In so doing, a balance between local concern about education and the achievement of national educational goals can be met.

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[26] Ibid.

A case could be made for creating a new structure of educational governance, shifting more power to the Federal Government and at the same time providing for more local community input into local educational affairs. The fact is that State control of education is so well established in this country that any attempt to shift control at the present time would run into such political difficulty that it is doubtful constitutional changes could be passed. The objective of equalizing educational opportunity can be accomplished without substantially altering the overall structure of American education. Constitutional omission delegates prime authority for public education to the States. What is now needed is for the States to exercise their authority better in equalizing educational opportunity for all children.

The need for the State to take immediate steps to equalize opportunity can be supported on grounds other than legal or constitutional authority: (1) the State can provide a broad base for leadership and planning; (2) the State can be immediately responsive to regional variations, conditions and needs; and (3) the State can combine and coordinate financial resources of local, State and Federal Governments. In short, the State can provide leadership, formulate policies, make decisions and take action on a scale which is not so limited as to be fragmentary, transient, and localized and yet not so remote, impersonal, and oppressively monolithic.[27] States should act promptly to bring about equality of opportunity and the Federal Government should assist that action, monitor State plans, and attend to the development of national standards of accomplishment by the schools.

While the determination and control of educational policy should remain with the States, the Federal Government does have the responsibility to initiate and monitor programs of educational reform throughout the Nation which guarantee the equalization of minimum educational attainment.

In assuming leadership to reform education in America, the role of the Federal Government is clear: First, through legislation the Congress, with Presidential approval and support, must establish a definition of equality of education. Regulations and guidelines need to be written by the U. S. Office of Education which make this definition operationally clear for all levels of government, Federal, State and local.

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[27] E. L. Morphet and C. O. Ryan (Eds.), Designing Education for the Future: An Eight State Project. Emerging Designs for Education: Program, Organization, Operation, and Finance: Reports Prepared for an Area Conference (Denver: May, 1968), p. 146.

Second, the Federal Government should provide the means which guarantees the achievement of equality of educational opportunity in a reasonable time -- 10 to 15 years. Funds provided should be sufficient, should be phased into reformation plans so that funds are not wasted and should be sustained and increased, if need be, until equality is accomplished. The funds provided by the Federal Government should be in the form of categorical grants to States based upon approved and published State plans.

Third, the Federal Government should provide to the States regulations and guidelines which specify the elements of State plans required for Federal funding. State plans should include means for planning and the study and assessment of equalization needs at the local level. Regulations and guidelines should require States to specify the organizational arrangements and procedures which State education agencies (SEA) will use in carrying out the intent of the equalization legislation and their own State plans.

Fourth, the Federal Government, in administering the equalization of educational opportunity programs, should encourage good management at all levels of government. Management training, information services, and technical assistance should be available to Federal, State, and local educational managers on request. Federal officers should help SEA's in developing and increasing State resources for management training, technical assistance, research and evaluation services, information retrieval and dissemination services, and in monitoring and auditing equalization activities.

Fifth, the Federal Government should assert its own means for monitoring and evaluating equalization activities. The purpose of monitoring and evaluation should be to provide information to the State and to the Federal Government regarding the status and effectiveness of equalization efforts. Assessment and evaluation by the Federal monitoring agency should be used to improve (a) State plans or planning, (b) technical assistance provided to States, (c) Federal or State monitoring of equalization, (d) Federal or State regulations and guidelines, (e) Federal legislation.

Sixth, the Federal education agency should publish annually and provide to Congress a report on the progress being made toward the goal of equalization of educational opportunity. The U. S. Commissioner of Education should be required to meet annually with the Council of Chief State School Officers to discuss the annual report and to improve Federal-State collaboration in achieving equalization.

It is the responsibility and obligation of each State to provide equality of educational opportunity to each child residing therein. Just as the Federal Government has the responsibility of establishing national goals, of defining educational equality, and of providing the means to achieve equality of opportunity, State government has the same responsibility with respect to the welfare of its citizens. States may exceed minimal equalization definitions established by Federal law, regulations, and guidelines, but they cannot be permitted to fall below Federal minimums without receiving additional support.

In carrying out the reformation of public education, State government should become involved with the following:

1. States should examine the ways and means they are now using to equalize education. Such an examination should include a serious look at how State education policy is developed and implemented, how change introduced into the State system is organized for efficient management and how the SEA works with the executive and legislative branches of government.

2. States should examine the adequacy of their present minimum foundation program. Wide differences in economic wealth from district to district, inequities in property assessment and taxation, educational manpower costs in passing special levies, and recent State supreme court decisions, should lead States to consider more centralized means of tax collection and better means for equalization.

3. States should develop a plan for assuring minimal education achievement (following Federal definitions, regulations, and guidelines). The plan should include:

   (A) Making the building level the locus of educational planning.

   (B) Increasing the involvement of principals, teachers, parents, and other interested lay citizens in the planning and implementation efforts at both the building and district levels.

   (C) A list of State goals for education, descriptions or progress reports on the achievement of State goals, current State definitions regarding equalization of education.

   (D) A consolidated status report of State educational needs in relation to both Federal and State definitions of minimum equalization.

   (E) A description of the State education management system.

   (F) A specification of State management objectives for reform including a proposed time schedule for achievement.

(G) A description of State research, evaluation, and monitoring activities.

(H) A description of how monitoring reports are utilized by State leaders--political, economic, educational.

4. States should examine the effectiveness of their own State education agencies in providing leadership and technical assistance to local education agencies, intermediate or regional agencies, State government, lay opinion leaders, and citizens. SEA's might consider establishing State-financed pilot or experimental projects or schools designed to make schooling more responsive to children, especially children disadvantaged as a result of poverty or discrimination.

5. States should consider the development of means for simplifying and standardizing information requirements. Professional teachers and principals should not be burdened with massive information requests. States might consider placing an electronic data processing terminal and operator in each school building. This would provide immediate, on-line, communication to and from the teaching-learning site.

Conclusion

The recommendations made for Federal and State levels should serve the purpose of relieving local education agencies of much extraneous activity and allow them to concentrate on performance within the classroom. To the local building faculty falls the critical responsibility of implementation.

The local education agency has the task of seeing to it that equalization resources reach the individual students that need them. This means that LEA's must see to it that personnel, materials, facilities, and learning/teaching environments are provided and that building faculties (principal, teachers, other school related adults) are accountable for educational outcomes--as defined by Federal and State definitions of educational opportunity.

How funds or resources are used for equalization should be decided by the building principal upon the advice of the building faculty and under the operational directives of the LEA. The LEA, the SEA and the Federal Government should monitor the way public funds are used to equalize educational opportunity. Corrective action is the responsibility of the LEA.

A critical problem to LEA's and to building principals is the development of viable ways to enlist, receive and respond to information from members of the community. Community involvement at the building level was the conclusion of a recent New York State commission that reported:

> the effective point for expression of citizen and parent-citizen interest in education is the school, not the school district, for the school is the basic operating unit and cost center in the provision of educational services.[28]

In any case, local education agencies are responsible for developing plans for the equalization of educational opportunity in schools within their jurisdiction. Building plans are consolidated into LEA plans; LEA plans are consolidated into SEA plans; SEA plans are furnished to the Federal agency and serve as justification for Federal funding. To accomplish the goal of equalization requires the involvement of the education profession at all levels of government.

At times in our history, States "rights" have seemed to take precedence over individual rights, especially in public education. The time for the condition is passed. Federal and State educational leaders must get together and establish collaborative regulations and programs so the educational rights of every child can be honored.

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[28] *Report of the New York State Commission*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.43.

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PART III

Instrumental Variables: Administrative Competence, Teacher Competence, School Culture, Teacher Environment

Chapter 6

THE EFFECTIVE PRINCIPAL: KEY TO URBAN SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS AND IMPROVEMENT

by

James R. Tanner
Cleveland (Ohio) Public Schools

This paper is concerned with the principalship in urban schools. In particular the focus is on the principal as an officer in the school. From time to time "the principalship" is mentioned. It should be noted, however, that we are not discussing the position in the abstract, but specifically the role of the person who is the designated head of the school.

Regarding urban schools, that category includes schools in the major cities of the country. Such cities would probably be in the 200,000+ population class, though there are other smaller cities whose characteristics would place them in this group.

It is the position of this paper that while there are certain features of the principal's role which could be described as generic, there are conditions in the major urban centers that set principals of urban schools apart as a category.

In addition to the conditions in the social, cultural, and political setting within which particular schools operate, there are other factors which make the urban principal a distinctive type. These factors relate mostly to organizational features of urban school systems. Examples of such features are numbers of schools of similar grade levels, administrative hierarchical arrangement, access to resources and services.

The principal of an urban school, unlike his colleague in other school systems, must administer his school with consideration for its relation to other schools in the city serving pupils of similar grade levels.

The pupil populations of schools in urban centers are affected by demographic factors so that pupils, whose racial, cultural, social, and economic characteristics in some combination are similar, are likely to predominate in the enrollment of individual schools. In some cities open enrollment is available, permitting pupils to choose among schools. Nonpublic schools of various types are widely accessible in and around most urban centers. Major city school districts have schools for special groups of pupils--the handicapped, those interested in vocational and technical courses, sometimes special schools for the academically gifted. The principal must be fully aware of these variations and understand that comparisons between his school and others in the system are made, often on inappropriate bases. The movement of pupils among schools in the city--for whatever reasons--requires that the principal establish relationships with other schools to avoid unnecessary disruptions in the school progress of pupils.

In the typical one-high school system, the principal has a direct relationship with the superintendent and individually with whatever other officials are available in the central office. The principal may be a member of the superintendent's cabinet. He may deal directly with the board of education. A considerable portion of the principal's time may be devoted to administrative details that in the urban system are the responsibility of central office personnel.

In the urban school system, there may be a decentralized plan--either geographically or by type of school--requiring the principal to be familiar with the locus of various decisions.

A particular advantage of the urban school system is the availability of resources and services. The urban school system provides subject matter specialists who are available for consultation, support, and direction in curricular affairs.

Only the large school system can afford a well-staffed research and development division. Schools in the urban centers usually have access to a rich array of resources such as universities and other educational institutions as well as health and welfare services. The individual school needs to be much less self-sufficient in an urban system. (In smaller systems each school may strive for self-sufficiency. The absence of needed resources, though, limits significantly the ability of the school or the school system to provide a comprehensive range of services to its pupils or its staff.) The principal in the larger system must be prepared to organize the program and services of his schools to take advantage of the resources that are available.

Some reference to curriculum development is usually included in specifications of the principal's job. This is an area requiring a high degree of technical skill as well as subject matter competency. Few principals either by training or experience are equipped to provide a desirable level of leadership in this field. Quite probably insistence on the principal's serving as the leader in curriculum development has often resulted in technically indefensible curriculum design and planning as well as inauthentic, noninclusive, improperly balanced content.

A proper role for the urban principal in curriculum development includes providing in the organization of his school for access to the technical skill and subject matter competency available at central levels, making his school available for experimentation, encouraging his staff to participate in curriculum development efforts, locally and in the field generally, arranging for the implementation of curriculum changes through organization, planning, and coordination. In addition he is the interpreter of his school community for those whose technical skill and subject matter knowledge must be involved in curriculum development. He provides for program evaluation as a means of determining curriculum effectiveness and deficiencies.

I do not include degree of autonomy in this listing because, in my judgment, whatever difference there may be between urban schools and others in terms of autonomy is a matter of local custom and practice and not of legal or organizational arrangements. It is my opinion that principals as a class now have more autonomy and authority than they are willing or adequately trained to exercise. This assertion is made in deliberate consideration of the call of various writers for greater autonomy for principals and individual schools as a prerequisite or accompaniment for school change and improvement. Principals could presently operate in the ways described by most of those prescribing greater autonomy if they were willing to assume the responsibility implicit in such authority as they now have.

Our approach in describing the principalship is to identify the role as that of an executive, responsible for the organization and operation of a school. The role includes oversight of the program and activities of the school unit and entails the judicious exercise of the authority vested in the position by law, by regulation, by policy, and by tradition. In the urban school the principal as the head of the individual school is accountable to the superintendent either directly or through intermediate officials for translating into action the educational and procedural policies established for the governance and operation of schools in the particular school system.

Appropriately the school should be organized by and operated under the direction of the principal in such a way that (1) an effective educational program is made available and accessible to the pupils enrolled; (2) there is continuous appraisal of the program in terms of evolving needs and available resources; and (3) needed changes can be made in the program with minimum disruption to the learning progress of the pupils.

The principal is responsible for the management of the school. That is, he is the manager of relations, of time utilization, and of resource utilization.

For purposes of this discussion, the definition of management offered by Haimann and Scott is appropriate: "Management is a social and technical process which utilizes resources, influences human action and facilitates changes in order to accomplish organization goals."[1]

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[1] Theodore Haimann and William G. Scott, Management in the Modern Organization (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970), p. 7.

In this definition both social and technical aspects are significant. The deliberate inclusion of the social dimension demonstrates the importance of people and interpersonal relations in the conduct of the affairs of the modern institution.

The importance of the activities of people as a concern of management is particularly highlighted in Brech's definition:

> "A social process entailing responsibility for the effective and economical planning and regulation of the operations of an enterprise, in fulfillment of the given purpose or task, such responsibility involving
>
> a. judgment and decision in determining plans and the development of data procedures to assist control of performance and progress against plans; and
>
> b. the guidance, integration, motivation, and supervision of the personnel comprising the enterprise and carrying out its operations."[2]

If the principalship is viewed as management in terms of these definitions, a concept of management which recognizes the process as social and which includes responsibility for the facilitation of change seems consonant with, if not synonymous with, the notion of democratic leadership as discussed by Hunt and Pierce.[3]

To view the principal as a manager in this context should avoid the idea of the separateness of administration and leadership identified by Goldman[4] and by Hersey and Blanchard.[5]

The principal who is right for today's urban school is one who exercises educational leadership through the application of sound judgment and through the fullest practicable participation of members of the institution in the decisionmaking and decision implementation processes.

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[2] E.F.L. Brech, Management: Its Nature and Significance, Fourth Edition (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd.), p. 17.

[3] Herold C. Hunt and Paul R. Pierce, The Practice of School Administration (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), pp. 12-13.

[4] Samuel Goldman, The School Principal (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1966), pp. 91-92.

[5] Paul Hersey and Kenneth H. Blanchard, Management of Organizational Behavior, Utilizing Human Resources (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 4.

Determinants of the Principal's Role

The role of the principalship in its current state has been determined by a number of factors. It is likely that similar factors will continue to influence the way principals function. Among these factors attention is directed in this paper to six: the role of the school, the history of the principalship, the training of principals, the expectations which others hold, the legal framework within which principals operate and the increased unionization of teachers.

The Role of the School as a Determinant

The appropriate activities of the head of an institution are determined by the nature of the institution's main business or service.

In the case of the school, the activities which the principal, as its head, will engage in are related to the distinctive function of the school in society.

The proper role of the school which, in general, is education will vary in relation to the particular community it serves and in consideration of the school's own institutional capabilities.

Crucial to the struggle for the life of America's cities is the issue of how our educational resources are deployed in attacking the problems of the city's people--problems of denied opportunity, unemployability, of enforced isolation, of increasing personal uselessness, of poor health and health care, of mistrust, of unrest.[6]

Of course, the school cannot alone solve these problems, but the school is certainly one important agency without whose involvement none of the problems is likely to be solved.

While it is admitted that the chief business of the school is the facilitation of pupil learning, and while it is equally true that the school cannot now, nor will it likely soon be able to, solve all the basic problems of its pupils and its adult clientele, it is indefensible for the school to fail to address its interest and its resources to the fullest extent practicable to the identification of human problems and to meeting those needs which its resources and facilities make it able to deal with.

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[6] James R. Tanner, "Some Curricular Imperatives for Urban Schools," Presentation to Martha Holden Jennings Foundation Ohio Conference on Elementary and Secondary Education (Columbus, Ohio: April 19, 1971).

Schools in urban centers are (or can be) especially well suited to provide either as a part of their program or as host to other agencies an array of services which no other agency is equally capable of facilitating. Why, for example, should not schools be the place where food services for the elderly are provided? Why could not the school provide referral service, on more than a casual basis as now, for family health and welfare agencies? No school system should neglect the employment placement function for its students by leaving it to chance or to the interest of individual counselors.

In the urban center the school has an adult education responsibility that has been too much neglected. The need for basic literacy instruction is often acute in cities. The area of consumer education seems too often to be everyone's concern, in general, and hence, no one's in particular.

In times where unemployment frequently is the result of undertraining or technological change, the school equipped for technical education ought certainly to be available for the retraining of those who require such support.

During national emergencies school facilities have been well used. The Nation was immunized against poliomyelitis, for instance, in schools. The same creativity and cooperation ought to be possible during times of less obvious crisis.

Until relatively few years ago the main role of America's elementary and secondary schools was one of sorting and screening the young--of selecting an elite. For the masses--minimal preparation in literacy and computational skills was provided.

It was not until the end of World War II that we began to take seriously the idea of universal access to educational opportunity with some national enlightenment regarding the old screening role.

Unfortunately we have been too slow at putting our resources "where our mouths are." As a result the educational crisis, particularly in America's cities, is still very much with us. In fact, the most urgent crisis for the present generation of American educators involves the survival of our cities as exciting, mentally and physically healthy places in which to live and grow and develop.

America's urban schools today enroll increasing numbers of children and youth with a greater variety of backgrounds, interests, abilities, personality strengths, and disabilities than at any other time in our educational history. The pupils are more mobile than ever, moving between and among schools within a given city and between places. And they are staying in school longer.

The dramatic increase in knowledge and information, the development and availability of technological approaches and devices have greatly expanded both the opportunity and the responsibility of the schools for making choices among instructional strategies and procedures.

The school's role is further highlighted "by the recent and properly accelerating socio-psychological phenomenon of the intensified quest for inclusion in society's benefits and advances."[7]

As Tyler points out, "In our time the role of the school has shifted from that of selecting a small percent of the pupils for more advanced education while the others dropped out and went to work to that of reaching every child effectively to enable him to go on learning far beyond the expected level of (the recent past)."[8]

"A major task we face in urban schools is to facilitate the rise to visibility of the submerged talents and abilities of the thousands of urban young people whose lives have been so impacted by the ravages of poverty and other forms of disprivilege."[9]

If the schools are to be relevant in the days ahead, they must address themselves to this issue. They must do more than teach the literature, history, and culture of yesterday or the mathematics, science, and economics of tomorrow. They must become the doors of opportunity for the under-privileged, the under-educated, and the under-motivated. They must bring into the mainstream of American life those who to date have not made it.[10]

An overriding purpose of education and schooling in the decade of the seventies must be to make the human condition humane. Humaneness in the quality of schooling will depend not only on what is taught, but how it is taught, how the school is organized and administered, and how actively the school involves itself in serving not just learning needs, but other human and community needs as well.[11]

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ralph W. Tyler, "The Purposes of Assessment," Improving Educational Assessment and An Inventory of Measures of Affective Behavior (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA), p. 2.

[9] Tanner, op. cit.

[10] Paul W. Briggs, Superintendent's Annual Report to the Board of Education, Cleveland, Ohio, 1970.

[11] Cleveland Public Schools, Cleveland, Ohio, Toward Dynamic Curriculum, 1970, p. 54.

The urban school must seek for itself a programmatic regenerative capability, if it is to identify and meet the needs of its clientele today and tomorrow. It must strive to achieve new and more appropriate ways to be effective in responding to its evolving and changing milieu.

Clearly rejected here is the glorification of change for its own sake. In school affairs a position which holds that change and improvement are synonymous is irresponsible, if indeed, not dangerous. What we seek are school programs that are clearly and obviously responsive to the needs of those the school serves.

Change capability in institutions requires change capability in the people whose interpersonal relations characterize the institution as a social system. Key to the development of institutional change capability is the quality of the leadership which energizes the institution.

In the case of the American school, the leader is the principal. Change in a school can be expected in fairly direct proportion to the interest and commitment of the principal to the development and nurture of a regenerative capability for the school's program, and his capability to lead in the process.

As Jenson and Clark point out: "Educational administrators . . . have been characterized by (1) assuming the role of respondent to change which occurred elsewhere and (2) enjoying the luxury of making the change (or ignoring it) within the structure of a stable institutional structure. In the future, the administrator's success will depend upon (1) being able to employ the dynamics of the change process to fulfill the objectives of the school as an institution and (2) providing relative stability in an institution which is undergoing basic structural modification."[12]

In one of the Nation's largest cities about two years ago at a principals' association retirement celebration, one retiring elementary school principal in responding to the tribute paid her in recognition of long service and devotion stated, "I'm glad to say I'm the first victim of the hot lunch program."

Two years earlier the school system had extended the federally subsidized school lunch program to several elementary schools in sections of the city whose schools served large proportions of poor children. This extension of food service had upset the equilibrium, the routine to which our principal had become accustomed. She resisted the addition of food service (and perhaps resented it, as well) because in her rather narrow view of the school's role, there was no place for such an activity. In her judgment it was the function of the home (or of someone) to send children to school properly nourished, ready to be taught in a traditional tightly structured school where classroom quietness and adherence to the principal's rules were both expected and rewarded.

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[12] Theodore J. Jenson and David L. Clark, Educational Administration (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1964), p. 110.

Though the school she commanded was located in an area of great poverty, she saw the school as having purposes that did not include meeting (or identifying) the elemental needs of her pupils, except those that related directly and could be confined to the teaching role of the school.

At other times and in other places, principals (and teachers) have revealed their attitudes toward adding special services for pupils by such comments as "Soon, we'll be sleeping them," "Are we going to take over everything from the home?" "If we provide breakfast, mothers can sleep longer," "I can't afford medical care like that for myself," "These children get money for everything they want." "Why can't that Federal money be given to all schools? After all, most of our parents pay taxes."

Such comments reveal the failure of the commenters, and of others who think similarly, to accept the view that the school, particularly the urban school, properly must engage itself in the solution of the basic problems of the people it serves. The urban school can no longer sit comfortably unconcerned in the midst of poverty and decay and somehow isolate itself in its academic cocoon.

History of the Principalship as a Determinant

In 1958 and again in 1968 studies of the role perception of principals showed that principals regarded curriculum and instructional leadership as the most important aspect of their role. Included in this category were philosophical and psychological theories, program supervision, and curriculum improvement. In terms of ideal time allotment, principals in both survey groups ranked curriculum and instructional leadership as a facet of their work that should consume almost twice as much of their time as any other.[13]

During the 1970-71 school year the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools surveyed principals of its affiliated secondary schools to determine, among other information, the priority assigned by principals to various functions. Predictably the results show that the responding administrators by a wide margin consider educational leadership, including such activities as improvement of instruction, program and curriculum development and stimulation of change, to be the most important facet of their role. The other three types of functions listed in the survey are general school administration, general school management, and crisis management.

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[13] Joseph D. Melton, "Role Perceptions of the Elementary School Principalship," National Elementary Principal, Vol. L, No. 4 (February 1971), pp. 40-43.

While these results provide some idea of the principal's role perception, it would, of course, have been more revealing if the participants had been asked to indicate their proportionate time use in carrying out the various functions.

Furthermore, the fact that the survey asked for a ranking in priority order of the four categories of activities suggests the reluctance of the sponsoring organization to accept a concept of school administration which includes all the categories in an interrelation.

In another aspect of the survey, the principals identified as their gravest problems (1) the proliferation of demands upon the principal's time and energies and (2) the difficulty encountered in attempting to effect school change.[14]

As part of an effort to determine inservice development needs of principals in the Cleveland, Ohio, Public Schools, a survey was conducted in May 1972. The survey collected reactions related to the principals' points of view regarding (1) tasks which principals perform that they believe are appropriate administrative functions of the principal; (2) tasks that they find most difficult to perform; and (3) tasks that they believe could be performed better.

In the results of the survey two items appear in the top six in all three categories:

> determining the quality of teaching being performed and communicating to staff members their professional strengths and weaknesses.

Their comments regarding these tasks show that their perceptions of quality determination and staff communication regarding strengths and weaknesses conform to the classical classroom visitation--supervision-evaluation model.

Further study of the results shows that principals believe that their most important tasks involve faculty relationships and, in general, that while some of the tasks are difficult, the primary problem is one of finding time to perform these most important and satisfying tasks. Their comments suggest that one of the main reasons that time is short is that principals must spend considerable time on external relationships with parents and community groups. Running through the survey results is the principals' desire to concentrate on internal rather than external relationships, together with some resentment toward factors which frustrate their desires.

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[14] John A. Stanavage, "NCA Principals' Perception of Their Principalship," North Central Quarterly, Vol. XLVI, No. 3 (Winter 1972), pp. 319-330.

One item noticeably low among the appropriate tasks was analyzing demographic trends of the community to project future school needs. Fewer than 50 percent of the principals regard that as appropriate in the role of the principal.[15]

One way to explain the persistent view of the principalship as primarily an instructional leader is to borrow a key line from the leading character in the outstanding dramatic production, "Fiddler on the Roof": "It's tradition."

The principalship in American education has evolved from the position of principal teacher and headmaster. The role has been slow to change. In the beginning the teacher thought to be the best teacher in the school was elevated to the position of principal teacher or headmaster.

Development of the principalship has been accretive in that it has featured the addition of functions which the principal is expected to perform.

In the early days the principal teacher's administrative tasks included, among others, upkeep of the school building, keeping school records, punishing misbehaving pupils, and instructing poorly trained teachers in the craft of pedagogy. Early in the twentieth century the principal became a much more important leader of the educational establishment, but with little training for carrying out the functions of leadership.

The idea of the head of the school as first a teacher has persisted so that almost universally "successful" teaching experience is a prerequisite to becoming a principal.

Probably as a result of this historical circumstance and the resultant limitations which have precluded a broadening of the base or the content of educational administrator preparation, school administrators have continued to perceive educational leadership narrowly and often have overly concentrated their concerns on the affairs of the classroom.

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[15] Cleveland Public Schools, Division of Research and Development, "Survey of Principals' Tasks," July 1972 (unpublished).

From the 1920's until the present there has been stress on the supervisory role of principal.

The view of the principal as primarily a supervisor of instruction has persisted widely just about as Cubberly described it in 1923. He referred to supervision as "the one supreme duty" of the elementary school principal. He recommended that the principal "must reduce his office work and economize his time, that he may be found as much as possible during school hours in the classrooms of his school."[16]

In some more recent writings the instructional supervisory role of the principal has continued to be emphasized in terms not greatly different from Cubberly's of more than half a century ago.[17, 18, 19, 20]

"Instructional leadership" has come to be used increasingly in place of "supervision," quite probably because of the punitive connotation of the latter term. The function has remained largely unchanged, though.

Instructional leadership or supervision is viewed as more "professional" than the duties historically identified in education with administration or management and hence more desirable.

Erickson, in reflecting on the view of the principal as a supervisor, pointed out in 1964 concerning the "ancient and hallowed conception of the principal as instructional leader," that the "good principal was a sort of 'super teacher,' expected to sally in and out of classrooms like some charismatic general, dropping a suggestion here, correcting a foible there, using the magic of his pedagogic know-how to spur the flagging spirits of his troops."[21]

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[16] Ellwood P. Cubberly, The Principal and His School (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), pp. 43-44.

[17] Emery Stoops and Russell E. Johnson, Elementary School Administration (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1967), p. 311.

[18] Paul B. Jacobson et al., The Effective School Principal, Second Edition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), Chapter 5.

[19] John A. Stanavage, "Educational Leader: Authentic Role," Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, Vol. 51, No. 322 (November 1967), pp. 3-17.

[20] Howard C. Seymour, "The Principal as the Instructional Leader," Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, Vol. 51, No. 322 (November 1967), pp. 89-97.

The widespread arrested development of the principalship in its evolution from head teachership, in the judgment of the writer, has been one of the major reasons for the slowness of schools to respond to the need for change.

Particularly is this the case when the principal views himself as personally having to perform all the duties and functions that have accrued to the principalship.

The Training of Principals as a Determinant

The continuing view of the principal as an instructional leader is attributable in large measure to the training programs necessary for certification (licensing) for the principalship.

Not only do principals perceive their role primarily as instructional leadership, their trainers largely share that perception.

Approximately 80 percent of professors in graduate departments of educational administration participating in a survey (1972) conducted under auspices of the National Association of Secondary School Principals are reported to consider that secondary school principals should devote the greatest part of their in-school time working with teachers to improve instruction and that they should teach teachers how to conceptualize, plan, and implement instructional change.[22]

Traditionally graduate programs for those planning to become school administrators have consisted of textbook bound, non-sequential lecture courses, frequently with only coincidental substantive relationship to each other, except for repetition of content from one course to another.

The program (or should it be called a program?) typically is constructed in terms of course titles and course credits rather than with relation to specific competencies.

In a few universities an internship is required and in some such an experience is optional. Internships vary in quality from carefully planned and well conducted, specific goal-oriented programs providing for competency demonstration to those where the intern simply "sits at the elbow" of a current administrator learning whatever he can glean.

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[21] Donald A. Erickson, "Forces for Change in the Principalship," The Elementary School Journal, Vol. 65, No. 2 (November 1964), pp. 57-64.

[22] Neal C. Nickerson, "Status of Programs for Principals," NASSP Bulletin, Vol. 56, No. 362 (March 1972), pp. 10-20.

It is not surprising that, in view of the traditional conception of the principal as mainly an instructional leader, other facets of the role are neglected in the training of prospective principals.

Moreover, only in the relatively brief period since World War II has there been any significant attention to administrative theory in the preparation of school administrators. Prior to that time courses in school administration dealt with details of school organization, usually in recipe fashion--how to construct schedules, how to supervise teachers, how to perform pupil accounting and assignment tasks, how to deal with the P.T.A., how to report pupil progress, staffing formulas, textbook selection guidelines, facility design and maintenance formulas, extracurricular activity planning, recordkeeping, and other similar matters.

The principalship as it has been idealized in practice and in training might well be described as a clonal descendant of the principal teacher or headmaster minimally affected by the changing milieu in which principals have functioned.

Perceptions of Others - Particularly Teachers, as a Determinant

Some years ago Fritz Redl prepared a brief statement entitled, "What Do Children Expect of Teachers?" in which he discussed the various roles children expect teachers to fill from time to time.

As I have reexamined his statement it seems to me that basically the expectations which, according to Redl, children have of their teachers are not greatly unlike the role expectancies teachers have of their principals. At least there seems to be a parallel track.

1. Children want the teacher to be a teacher, not just a substitute parent or disciplinarian, though sometimes a combination of those roles is appropriate. Children really want the reassurance of an adult mentor who "is fascinated by the question of whether or not they learn."

   Teachers want the principal to be the leader, the authority figure who is pleased when they teach effectively and who shows it.

2. The teacher is expected to be skillful in "psychological first aid." This skill includes the ability to help the child understand personal frustration and apparent failure and cope with them. It includes, as well, the ability to handle group anxiety or tension and translate it into more productive goal-directed effort. A third aspect of psychological first aid is related to the "detoxification" of a highly charged group situation where, in a kind of contagion, children affect each other in such a way that the group air is one of "group psychological intoxication."

   Teachers want principals to be able to understand occasional non-success in a particular teaching task and to be able discreetly to offer suggestions of how to avoid failure. They also expect the principal to set a tone and provide the conditions for group harmony and to schedule or reschedule activities and duties in such a way that the whole group remains organized and their efforts properly focused.

3. Children expect teachers to accept some "marginal abuse," to be "hated" for a while and to understand the situation and know that children will "get over it."

   Teachers and other adults seem to feel that the boss is supposed to be "hated"--probably just because he is the boss with certain power and privilege. An acceptable principal behavior is that of being a shock absorber--as a representative of the establishment.

4. Children want their teachers to be able to "keep their mouths shut when they understand too well . . . It is important that Johnny know that even if I understand him I will still be polite enough to let him work his problems out himself until such time as he needs help."

   Principals are expected to understand that teachers, in general, would prefer to work out their own problems, with the principal being available for support, suggestion, direction when the situation

> obviously is getting out of hand. The principal is expected to perceive the point where help is needed and be prepared to take over in a way that saves face for the teacher.

5. Children want their teachers to show love and affection in "the modality which is germane to their jobs." They want teachers to show affection by putting proper effort into the things children really need and which the teacher is best prepared to offer. This kind of affection is demonstrated as the teacher avoids showing frustration and continues to seek ways to clarify the child's understanding of his learning tasks, even when obviously other personal or school problems may be getting in the way.

> Teachers want principals to show respect and consideration for them as persons but they are not seeking a "buddy or pal." They expect the principal to be the local boss, enforcing necessary rules and regulations, while showing appreciation for their efforts.

6. Children expect teachers to be umpires and to be capable of keeping the "group psychological air half way clean."

   Entailed here is the ability to recognize and mediate clashes of interests. This is a role that should be obvious to the class so that they will know that the teacher can and will assist in the resolution of conflicts before they develop into serious uprisings.

   Another facet of umpiring is being sensitive to, and helping individual children to make choices, among apparently equally attractive courses of action when a choice must be made.

   With respect to "group psychological antisepsis" the teacher needs to be able to "avoid scapegoat formation . . . to avoid a hostile-competitive climate which is very different, group psychologically from a basically interested marginal competitive spirit . . . to avoid or remove collective apathy . . . to avoid 'participation cliques' and 'participation slums.'"

> The principal is seen by the teacher as umpire and as guarantor of mental health. Like the teacher he is expected to be able to "avoid scapegoat formation . . . to avoid a hostile-competitive climate which is very different, group psychologically from a basically interested marginal competitive spirit . . . to avoid or remove collective apathy . . . to avoid 'participation cliques' and 'participation slums.'"

7. The teacher is expected to exercise protective interference, to know when the children have reached the level of stimulation or exertion beyond which they should not be permitted to go, in order to avoid group frustration. The teacher should know when to intervene or interfere.

> Teachers want principals to know when to intervene in a rising level in school activity when the point of counter productivity is approaching. The principal should be sensitive enough to firmly call a halt or to take positive charge of the situation and help teachers, pupils and the community understand when the learning atmosphere is being upset. He is also expected to be able to redirect the energies of the school.[23]

Law as a Determinant

Public education in the United States is a State function, with most State legislatures delegating and assigning certain responsibility, authority, and accountability to local boards of education.

Laws and the regulations established for their implementation constitute a highly significant determinant in identifying the parameters of the principal's authority and functions. School laws relate to such matters as school attendance ages, school financing, employee contractual status, curricula, licensing, school construction, and school district organization.

In addition to the body of State law, recent developments have extended the concern of schools to constitutional rights of the individual. Court decisions based upon application of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the rights of students, teachers, and parents comprise an important evolving component of the legal framework within which the school and its personnel must function.

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[23] Fritz Redl, "What Do Children Expect of Teachers?" in *What Do We Expect of Our Teachers?*, Bank Street College of Education Conference, 1954, reissued 1961.

Not only at the Federal level but at State and local levels, as well, judicial interpretations influence the relations of people within the schools and the relations of the schools to other public and private institutions.

The application of due process (as construed by courts) has come to be a central concern of school officials. As Verdevoe has observed, "The uncertainty of the interpretation and the slow process of justice will make school management more difficult and subject to challenge than in the past."[24]

Increasing Teacher Unionization as a Determinant

A recent and rapidly evolving facet of school administration concerns the area of labor-management relations.

Discussions about the principal's role in employee bargaining or negotiations usually seek to justify or plead for the principal as an active participant in the bargaining process or as a neutral bridge in disputes. Overlooked in such discussions is the fact that as Watson indicates principals have had minimal involvement in the negotiations between teachers and other employer groups as labor and top school system administrators and/or boards of education as management.[25]

The building principal's role has been affected by negotiations in two important ways. The authority of the principal has been modified resulting in less discretion in areas that are covered by negotiated agreements. These areas include teacher assignment and transfer, teacher time use during the school day, supervisory and coordinative procedures and others. A second impact of bargaining on the principal's relationship to local school staff is that he is expected on behalf of the central administration and the board of education to carry out the terms of agreements which he had no part in making and which he may regard as limiting his own effectiveness and efficiency as well as those of other staff members.

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[24] Lawrence E. Verdevoe, Address to Secondary Principals' Conference, Cleveland, Ohio (February 28, 1972).

[25] Bernard C. Watson, "The Role of the Principal in Collective Negotiations," *The North Central Quarterly*, Vol. XLII, No. 3 (Winter 1968), pp. 233-243.

Need for Change in the Perception of the Principal's Role

A persistent problem is the failure of principals and their trainers to accept as appropriate the several facets of the role. In addition to an overemphasis on the principal's role as supervisor, evaluator and instructional expert, there continues to be an inveighing against the principal as a manager and an accompanying yearning for something characterized as educational leadership.

The continued resistance to the concept of the school principalship as management is probably attributable in large part to an image of management as exploitive, as dealing with "things" at a higher priority than with persons, as concerned almost exclusively with efficiency and "administrivia."

Upon examination the educational leadership envisioned in such calls to the battlements frequently is, in reality, the principalship in the power status attained during the first quarter of the twentieth century, a period not particularly noted for educational change and progress, except possibly for the spread of secondary schools.

These grasps for the millennium feature an attempt to "clean up" the principalship either by excision of some aspects perceived as detractive or distractive or by the expansion of the role in a kind of Parkinsonian approach.

The fact is that financial limitations of school systems, particularly urban school districts, preclude the expansion of the principalship by the addition of numerous functionaries to the administrative staff. Neither will ignoring or rejecting certain necessary though unglamorous activities contribute to the effectiveness of the school.

To continue to insist upon the priority of the instructional supervisory function of the principal of the urban school is to reveal an unawareness of the context in which the urban school must operate. As the A.A.S.A. pointed out in a 1963 report:

> School administration faces the challenge of an age in which the rate and magnitude of change are unprecedented. . . . All individuals, professions and institutions are profoundly affected by the forces which make this the most dynamic and swiftly moving of all periods in history. . . .
>
> Of all our social institutions, perhaps schools should be the most profoundly affected by this transition since, in many respects education is both an antecedent and a consequence of change. . . . Those in administration must keep up with change,

> understand its causes and consequences, understand its proper impact on the schools, and be able to evaluate it and make intelligent applications of this knowledge and understanding to the schools and their own work.[26]

In a 1967 presentation to the Annual Meeting of the North Central Association, Romine listed a number of factors which influence the principal's role. Several of the factors he identified continue to have relevance at this time, six years later. The only influence within the educational establishment which he listed as significant in 1967 whose relevance has been diminished is collegiate competition for teachers. The other items which have remained pertinent are centralism in education, increasing innovation and specialization, new characteristics and attitudes of teachers and pupils, the spread of collective bargaining and negotiations, the availability of increased administrative sophistication, and the size and complexity of schools.

Crucial influences outside the school which have impact on schools and their operation include:

> "1. population explosion, implosion and mobility
>
> 2. social and moral conflict, change and improvement
>
> 3. rising educational costs and taxation
>
> 4. higher educational expectations."[27]

McNally in a quite insightful discussion of the principalship holds that the "supervision-centered conception of the principalship has become inappropriate and outdated, particularly in large metropolitan and centralized rural schools."[28] His analysis is similar to that of Knezevich who concludes that "The principalship is [or should be] changing due in large part, to the pressures on society in general and on education in particular. The increasing pressure on the school to assume a more dynamic role in the amelioration of social injustices, the greater militancy and professionalization of teachers, the increased specialization of teachers, and the growing complexity of all educational institutions are modifying the nature of the principalship."[29]

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[26] American Association of School Administrators, In-Service Education for School Administrators (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1963), pp. 43-44.

[27] Stephen A. Romine, "Current Influences Change the Principal's Role," North Central Quarterly, Vol. XLII, No. 2 (Fall 1967), pp. 187-191.

[28] Harold J. McNally, "The American Principal Tomorrow," National Elementary Principal, Vol. XLVII, No. 6 (May 1968), p. 86.

"The principal," McNally says, "cannot pretend to the omniscience and competence in all areas that would be required for him to act as the didactic supervisor" of all the evolving teacher and specialist roles in the school staff. He will "use the prerogatives of his position to 'zero in' the specialist who is professionally trained to provide the specific kind of assistance that the teacher requires."[30]

Furthermore, as Knezevich points out, "neither pride nor desire to be considered an autonomous unit is a good reason for depriving a teacher of the services of a special-subject consultant."[31]

The complexity of school and schooling, the rapidly developing technology available to education, the vast increase and the dazzling rate of increase in knowledge and information, the interrelatedness and interdependence of schools and other social agencies, the accumulating body of law and regulation, the rising levels of sophistication regarding school among the general populace, the spreading calls for accountability -- all these factors together with the need for greater attention to human values clearly call for a response capability on the part of school officials that exceeds either merely authoritarian leadership or leadership simply by recipe even though the leaders are men and women of inspiration and good will.

It further is insufficient to base the role of the principal on those activities which principals like to perform. The issue is not what principals want to do but rather what needs to be done.

There is no intent here to suggest that the school is not primarily and most importantly an educational institution with pupil learning as its main objective and with teaching as the chief means of attaining that objective.

It is precisely because of an interest in improving the effectiveness and, where possible, the efficiency of learning and teaching that there is a need to examine the administration of the school. After all, administration has the authority and is responsible for the effective and efficient operation of the school.

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[29] Stephen J. Knezevich, Administration of Public Education, Second Edition (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1969), p. 282.

[30] McNally, op. cit., p. 89.

[31] Knezevich, op. cit., p. 273.

The nature of the principalship in each school is a major determinant in the quality of the school's program.

Significant change in the principal's role and in perceptions of that role among principals will be accomplished largely through training and retraining. The likelihood of change will be greatly enhanced if the training of prospective principals and the continued training and retraining of current principals is based upon the broad view of the principalship as a position of executive leadership, as McNally's "perceptive generalist."[32]

The Principalship as Effective Management

Management Defined

In establishing a framework for the identification and analysis of the work of school administration, Knezevich lists eight questions which would confront those responsible for the operation of any type of organization.

1. What is to be done?
2. How will the work be divided?
3. How will it be done?
4. Who will do the work?
5. What will it be done with?
6. When will the work be done?
7. How well should the work be done?
8. How well is the work being done?

He concludes that the universal tasks of administration become evident in the search for solutions to these questions, suggesting that administration in any organization would be concerned with answers to all the questions, while various operating or service components of the organization would each focus attention on one or several. An over-arching view of the organization and responsibility for the functioning of the organization as a whole are characteristics which distinguish administration and set it apart as a specialty.[33]

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[32] McNally, op. cit., p. 90.

The elements of administration or management have been identified in studies dating to the early years of the twentieth century. (In this paper the two terms administration and management are viewed as synonymous.)

Knezevich in reviewing the content of nine such studies (1966-67) identified 20 terms naming processes that are listed in this accumulating literature of administration: planning, organizing, commanding, coordinating, controlling, staffing, directing, reporting, budgeting, assembling resources, allocating resources, stimulating, evaluating, decisionmaking, communicating, influencing, programming, appraising, leading, measuring and controlling. Of course, many of the terms are variable ways of naming the same functions.[34]

In this paper the selection of management functions is based upon the work of Haimann and Scott who conclude that management is a system of interrelated processes which can be separated conceptually for analysis but which are inseparable in the actual work situation of administration. As they point out, the administrator performs the management functions in variable sequences and with differing time uses.[35]

Management consists of the following interdependent processes:

planning -- gathering information; establishing relevant goals and objectives; identifying strategies and tactics; setting performance standards.

organizing -- defining individual jobs and establishing relationships among them. Coordination and the exercise and delegation of authority are key concepts in the organizing function.

staffing -- the selection, placement, and development of those who perform the work of the institution.

influencing -- exercise of leadership in motivating employees to attain the objectives of the institution while experiencing personal satisfaction.

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[33] Knezevich, *op*. *cit*., p. 27.

[34] *Ibid*., p. 28.

[35] Haimann and Scott, *op*. *cit*., p. 19.

controlling -- activities which determine whether and in what ways the goals and objectives of the institution are met. Establishing performance criteria, monitoring and appraising performance; instituting necessary corrective action are the classes of activities which constitute controlling.

In this framework of management, decisionmaking and communication are emphasized as interrelated "linking devices" which bind the managerial functions.[36] In carrying out each and all of the major functions of management, it is necessary to reach judgments about persons, events, materials and ideas and to make choices among alternative courses of action. This represents decisionmaking.

A decision having been made is only useful when it reaches those whose decisions and actions are affected by it. This is the purpose for communication--the exchange of information--among the people who are employed by the particular institution and between the institution and its clientele.

Clearly the success and effectiveness of an institution are determined largely by the quality of its decisionmaking and its communication network and the relationship between the two.

School Administration as a Special Class of Management

In a discussion of the similarities between management in business and education, Carter seeks to superimpose the categories of management in business upon school administration. In doing so he relates the administrative responsibilities in schools to the successful operation of business in the areas of personnel, finance, production and processes. With operational examples he illustrates similarities and differences. He emphasizes the pervasive functions of organizing and planning in both business and education.[37]

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[36] Ibid., p. 53.

[37] Clyde Carter, "What Management Techniques Can the School Learn from Industry?," North Central Association Quarterly, Vol. XLIII, No. 4 (Spring 1969), pp. 353-360.

The basic functions of administration or management (planning, organizing, staffing, influencing, controlling) are applicable in all institutions.[38,39,40,41,42]

As Sears pointed out, however, the similarity of administrative functions among various types of institutions should not conceal the existence of differences.[43] Haimann and Scott indicate that although management processes are universal, management skills are less transferable.[44]

In designing the principalship it is inappropriate to do so on the basis of examples of positions in management outside education. Models are seldom replicable except as between situations in which the analogy is based on a degree of preciseness that is not possible when comparing the school with other institutions.

Models are valuable in human affairs principally as the source of guidelines and basic principles. Consequently, there is no attempt here to see the school principal as like the department store manager, or the factory superintendent, or the newspaper managing editor, or the hospital administrator, or the manager of a public utility or the head of any other kind of organization, except, of course, in the sense that the genre of institutional head entails the acceptance of responsibility and authority for the orderly and effective operation of the institution. Beyond that the school principalship bears some resemblance to certain other institution heads, in that, for example, the school and some other institutions are primarily service related, have limited options in client selection, depend upon restricted and specific sources of revenue,

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[38] Haimann and Scott, op. cit., p. 17.

[39] Knezevich, op. cit., p. 55.

[40] David B. Austin, Will French, and Dan J. Hull, American High School Administration Policy and Practice, Third Edition (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), p. 17.

[41] Roald F. Campbell, John E. Corbally and John A. Ramseyer, Introduction to Educational Administration, Third Edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1966), Chapter 3.

[42] Russell T. Gregg, Ed., in Campbell and Gregg, Administrative Behavior in Education (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 274.

[43] Jesse B. Sears, The Nature of the Administrative Process, First Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950), p. 5.

[44] Haimann and Scott, op. cit., p. 17.

are labor-intensive in budget outlays, are staffed with positions for which extensive special pre-employment training is required, and are units of an hierarchical organization.

Graff and Street identify several conditions under which schools operate that require school administration to have a distinctive character. These include the institutional uniqueness of schools, the requirement that schools be responsible to the needs of all other community institutions; directness of the relationship of the school to the people, the school as an arena for conflict and mediation among diverse values and the intimacy of the interaction between the school and its immediate clientele (students).[45]

Another way of distinguishing school administration in the larger field of administration is to compare the school with other types of institutions with respect to factors such as cruciality to society, public visibility and sensitivity, complexity of function, intimacy of necessary relations, staff professionalization, and difficulty of appraisal. Such an analysis as developed by Campbell, Corbally and Ramseyer indicates, for example, that the school is more crucial to society than a ping pong ball factory; has less complex functions than a psychiatric clinic; has a staff less highly trained than a college; presents more difficulty in appraisal than a sales organization, but less than a church.[46]

It seems clear that school administration requires special skills and procedures in pursuing its central purpose of enhancing learning and teaching and is a special class of management.

What the Effective Principal Does[47]

"The principal in a public school, whether at the elementary or secondary level, is a counselor of students, the school disciplinarian, the organizer of the schedule, the supervisor of the instructional program, the pupil relations representative for the attendance area, the liaison between teachers and the superintendent, the director and evaluator of teaching efforts, the manager of the school facilities, the supervisor of custodial and food service employees within the building and a professional leader."[48]

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[45] Graff and Street in Campbell and Gregg, op. cit., pp. 121-124.

[46] Campbell, Corbally and Ramseyer, op. cit., pp. 87-93.

[47] In developing this section, I have depended not only on the writings of scholars in educational administration but just as importantly upon the assistance of six Cleveland principals, who are generally regarded effective. They prepared for my use logs of their daily activities for several days so that I had a sampling of 12 principal days to review.

Campbell, Corbally and Ramseyer characterize the principal as an organizer, a communicator, an instructional leader and a line officer.[49]

In discussing the elementary school principalship, Hicks has identified eleven aspects of the role, pointing out that the effective principal must be able to exemplify the appropriate facet as varying situations require. The principal, according to Hicks, is the executive of the school, a coordinator, motivator, expert, advisor, mediator, interpreter, supervisor, evaluator, demonstrator, example and advocate and educational prophet.[50]

While this listing of role facets is presented by Hicks with regard to the work of the elementary school principal, it seems pertinent for the principalship at any level.

An additional role of the principalship is that of the diagnostician as described by Lippitt, who points to the manager's need to be able to identify causes of inadequate or inefficient performance.[51]

At all levels within the administrative hierarchy of schools the administrative processes are the same, though certain tasks will be performed more frequently at one level than at others.

Knezevich holds that "a different degree of information concerning the substantive problems and the nature of the learner at various levels seems to be the only fundamental differentiation among types of administrators."[52]

With special reference to principals, Griffiths and his associates concluded that the responsibilities are the same at both elementary and secondary levels with such differences as there are being differences of degree, not kind.[53]

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[48] Knezevich, op. cit., p. 283.

[49] Campbell, Corbally and Ramseyer, op. cit., pp. 225-227.

[50] Hanne J. Hicks, Administrative Leadership in the Elementary School (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956), pp. 26-29.

[51] Gordon L. Lippitt, Organization Renewal: Achieving Viability in a Changing World (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), p. 23.

[52] Knezevich, op. cit., p. 282.

[53] Daniel E. Griffiths et al., Organizing Schools for Effective Education (Danville, Illinois: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1962), p. 171.

In the Griffiths study more than 50 illustrative functions of school administration are cited with the suggestion that the list should be adapted as necessary to fit the purposes of individual school districts.[54]

The activities of the principal have been grouped into various categories both for convenience of description and for clarity. Seven such classifications are included in Chart I.

To be sure, all these classifications are acceptable ways of categorizing the duties and activities of the principal.

The following outline is a way of presenting such a classification based on our concept of the principalship:

1. Developing and Implementing the Educational Program

   a. Organizing the school for instruction
   (establishing and clarifying role relationships)
   (establishing the operational framework)

   b. Curriculum development (goal setting, planning learning experience, allocating resources)

   c. Program supervision, including instructional material, equipment and supply procurement and allocation

   d. Program evaluation

2. Instructional Staff Development

   a. Teacher and related staff placement, assignment, transfer

   b. Orientation

   c. Evaluation, retention, dismissal

   d. Selection

   e. Inservice growth

   f. Establishment and maintenance of wholesome school climate.

3. School Community Relations

   a. Identifying the school community and the various constituencies and agencies

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[54] *Ibid*., pp. 150-152.

CHART I

Fisk, 1957

- Relating to the community
- Improvement of educational opportunity
- Obtaining, developing, improving personnel
- Providing and maintaining funds and facilities

Griffiths, et al., 1962

- Improving the educational program
- Selecting and developing personnel
- Working with the community
- Managing the school

Jacobson, Reavis, Logsdon, 1963

- Organization of the school
- Instructional leadership
- Direction of personnel

Goldman, 1966

- Developing the educational program
- Obtaining and developing personnel
- School-community relations
- Managing the school

Campbell, et al., 1966

- School-community relationship
- Curriculum and instruction
- Pupil personnel
- Staff personnel
- Physical facilities
- Finance and business management

Elsbree, McNally and Wagner, 1967

- Staffing
- The instructional program
- Pupil personnel and pupil services
- School-community relations
- Funds and facilities

Knezevich, 1969

- Administration of pupils
- Administration of professional personnel
- Development of educational programs
- Management of school finance and school planning
- Community decisionmaking
- Public relations

    b. Communication with school clientele (students, parents, other citizens) (interpreting the school)

    c. Gauging community educational interests and support

    d. Developing community interest and support for responsive educational programs

    e. Interpreting the community to school staff

4. Supportive Services and Programs

    a. Pupil personnel services

    b. Finance and fiscal recordkeeping and reporting

    c. School plant maintenance

    d. Auxiliary services (food service, health, pupil transportation)

    e. School office management

5. Relation of the School to the School System

    a. Interpretation of policy procedures and data

    b. Representation, interpretation and advocacy of the school

    c. Identification and utilization of available personnel, materiel and services

    d. Articulation, horizontal and vertical (pupil and staff placement and transfer) (program development)

    e. Referral and appeal

To attempt to rank the functions or classes of functions in order of importance is to seek frustration and would indicate a serious lack of understanding of the nature of schools and schooling and their place in society.

These classes of activities are interrelated and interdependent. None may be slighted if the school is expected to be effective in promoting pupil learning and development.

Moreover it is an exercise in futility to attempt to divide the principal's time in some idealized proportion among the classes of duties. Schools differ in size, in pupil population, in staff specialization, training and competency, in community acceptance and support, in available resources, in organizational pattern, and in program specialization. All these factors in whatever combination they may be present in a given school are determinants of the use of administrative time and energy. In addition it could be demonstrated that such conditions as the weather and the season affect the time use of school personnel.

To allay somewhat the apprehension of those who see responsibility for activities as entailing the duty personally to perform all the activities, it should be stated that in our concept of administration (or management) the administrator "is directly responsible not for performing the work of an organization, but for attending to its performance."[55]

The rule of reason should prevail in the principal's scheduling and planning of his activities.

Tactics which are illustrative of the work of the effective school executive have been identified by Tompkins in the schema as reported by Williams:

TACTICS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE LEADER

HE WORKS TO ESTABLISH EQUILIBRIUM IN THE ORGANIZATION

1. Concentrates on a few clearly defined objectives at a time.
2. Knows that there is no one way to achieve an objective.
3. Recognizes that people act nonlogically; therefore he uses persuasion rather than compulsion.
4. Avoids communicating his frustrations to his followers.

HE TAKES A FIRM STAND ON ISSUES THAT, TO HIM, HAVE A MAJOR SIGNIFICANCE

1. Does not hesitate to compromise on lesser issues where wide support is lacking.
2. Does not compete with his followers.
3. Knows he cannot please everyone without damage to his convictions.

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[55] John Walton, Administration and Policy Making in Education, Revised Edition (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), p. 49.

HE LISTENS TO AND OBSERVES HIS FOLLOWERS CAREFULLY

1. Makes few decisions without first conferring with followers who may be affected by the decision.
2. Changes style in doing this so as not to establish a pattern of procedure that can be predicted by followers.

HE CAREFULLY PAVES THE WAY FOR ANY CHANGE IN POLICY

1. Knows that decisive action loses effect when it is hurried.
2. Postpones policy action when lack of consensus or insufficient information exists.
3. Preserves opportunity for freedom and flexibility of action until consensus jells or necessity compels.
4. Tries to remain calm in face of crisis.
5. Understands that he must make occasional decisions on the basis of probable success and, therefore, trusts his intuitions.

HE ASSESSES HIS OWN STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES AND THOSE OF HIS FOLLOWERS, TO WHOM HE DELEGATES ACCORDING TO THEIR STRENGTHS

1. Recognizes a major responsibility to develop initiative and intelligent action in followers.
2. Gives full credit to followers and bestows praise for jobs well done.
3. Demonstrates a sense of good humor and enthusiasm; never complains openly about being physically tired.
4. Endorses and practices the principles of job-enlargement.[56]

The principal should be the local school leader. His leadership may be titular and status-bound, requiring him symbolically to wear his badge of authority in order to be recognized as the leader. The operation of the school he heads may be quite efficient while he personally is available to oversee it.

Then there are situations where, as Goldman points out, the principal may be the head of the school while some other member of the staff is in fact the leader of the staff in terms of influence.[57]

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[56] Stanley W. Williams, Educational Administration in Secondary Schools: Task and Challenge (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964), pp. 98-99.

[57] Goldman, op. cit., p. 80.

Such a role as either of those is not compatible with our concept of management. In the principalship envisioned in this paper the role requires that the principal be, in fact, the leader of the school, not just its titular head or the foreman who secures production through fear or through a reward system that encourages loyalty to him personally rather than to the goals and objectives of the institution.[58]

The importance of wide participation in school decisionmaking and implementation is detailed by Labat who points out that the efforts of school administrators to achieve school goals are influenced by staff, parents, students, and other citizens. She recommends the development of interaction processes through which school leaders can provide for the involvement of the various constituencies.[59]

Consistent with the emphasis on the social nature of the administrative process, the principal who is right for today's urban school is one who exercises educational leadership through the application of sound judgment and through the fullest practicable participation by members of the school in the decisionmaking and decision-implementation processes.

The behavior of such a principal will be characterized by the operational goals which Tead associates with administration as democratic leadership.

1. That the aims of his organization are of such a character that they can truly win the loyalty of those involved . . .
2. To assume that people are getting a kick out of being at work and out of the work itself . . .
3. That appeals are invoked beyond those of immediate self interests . . . relating the enterprise to a larger social good . . .
4. That an opportunity exists for the integrity of selfhood to be both protected and extended through the responsibilities which his associates have to take upon themselves.

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[58] Roald F. Campbell, Luvern L. Cunningham and Roderick F. McPhee, The Organization and Control of American Schools (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1965), pp. 245-249.

[59] Margaret G. Labat, "Leadership Training: A Catalyst for School Reform," Working Paper, USOE Administration and Supervision Task Force on School Reform (November 16, 1972).

> 5. That people get a sense of belonging, of being wanted, of some security of status and some approval, within and through the activities of the organization.
>
> 6. That people's willingness to be led will not be exploited . . .
>
> 7. To strive in some measure to bring into being that more ultimate psychological . . . reality (which involves) a harmonizing of self-realization and self-transcendence.[60]

Another listing of guidelines for effective leadership appropriate to our concept of the principal as an effective executive is that presented by Hicks in the excerpt which follows:

> 1. Genuine leadership places greater value on coordination than on conformity.
>
> 2. Effective leadership is usually reflected in the success of persons other than the leader himself.
>
> 3. Real leadership employs the same sort of techniques in human relations that it seeks to develop in others.
>
> 4. Effective leadership must be related to goals.
>
> 5. Effective leadership must be considered a means rather than an end.
>
> 6. Effective leadership depends upon both the motives and competencies of those who serve as leaders.
>
> 7. Effective leadership includes in its processes the participation of all persons with rightful stakes in the educational program.
>
> 8. Effective leadership involves the development of a policy continuum sufficiently pliable to serve as a guide in specific ideas and sufficiently strong to sustain the efforts of a program through periods of emergency or crisis.

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[60] Ordway Tead, The Art of Administration (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951), pp. 136-137.

9. Effective leadership involves the continued search for common denominators of human communication and action.

10. Effective leadership regards working associates as co-workers rather than as mere followers.

11. Effective leadership is concerned with development rather than dictation.

12. Effective leadership is sparked by and appears to generate in others a strong faith in education as a basic means of human improvement.[61]

Training for Effective Principaling

At the outset it would be useful to deal with the "hang up" created by the use of the term training. Many professional persons in education feel that training suggests a kind of mechanical skill development, stressing the psychomotor domain rather than the cognitive, when the latter is thought to be of a higher order. The use of training here is in the sense of the dictionary definition "to make proficient with specialized instruction and practice." The word education is deliberately not used here because of that term's more comprehensive meaning. Our attention is on those aspects of the principal's education which are intended to make the person who undergoes the instruction more proficient in the performance of certain definite tasks. Hence training seems appropriate. Clearly the desired proficiency development entails cognition.

In determining how principals should be trained, one should identify first the knowledge and skills principals need in order to perform their roles adequately.

It is the position of this writer that the training of the principal should be competency related, with the needed competency goals specified in considerable detail. This is not to imply that behavioral objectives in the sense of performance assessment would constitute all the criteria for determining competency of the trainee. How, for example, does one measure in performance a person's knowledge of various educational laws except in the actual situation where the knowledge is required?

The principal identified in this paper requires the categories of skills described by a number of writers in recent years. One of the clearest statements of those skill classes is that of Griffiths and his associates.

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[61] Hicks, op. cit., pp. 6-11.

> Technical skill - specialized knowledge and ability involving methods, processes, procedures, or techniques within a specific vocation. This means that the principal would need to know and to demonstrate the tools and techniques of the principalship.
>
> Human skill - the ability to work effectively as a group member and to build cooperative effort within the faculty which he heads. This skill may be contrasted with technical skill; working with people versus working with things.
>
> Conceptual skill - the ability to see the organization as a whole. It includes recognizing the interdependence of each unit. how changes in one unit affect all other units.[62]

Consistent also with our view of the principalship is Goldman's listing of selected competencies.

1. Understanding the teaching and learning process and being able to contribute to its development.

2. Understanding school organization and being able to lead and coordinate the activities of the highly trained professional personnel who comprise this organization.

3. Understanding the nature and the composition of the local school-community and being able to maintain satisfactory relationships between the school and its many community groups.

4. Understanding the technical aspects of school administration (e.g., school building maintenance management functions and the like) and being able to obtain and allocate resources in an effective and efficient manner.

5. Understanding the change process and being able to bring about necessary and appropriate changes in school and society.

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[62] Griffiths, et al., op. cit., p. 154.

6. Understanding various cultures and being able to plan and implement programs which will meet the unique needs of each culture in the school.

7. Understanding and being able to use the findings of relevant research.[63]

McNally cites the special need of the principal in the years ahead for competency in areas such as social psychology, urban sociology, political science, cultural anthropology, organizational theory and operation and "The practical aspects of administrative behavior that were not even taught in the preparation programs of just a few years ago or that were taught in 'recipe' fashion."[64]

Harvey Goldman also has identified special areas of training needed by the urban principal including communication analysis, nature and psychology of poverty and affluence, group dynamics, the evaluation of behavior, community development and conflict mediation.[65]

A quite extensive listing of competencies of the effective principal is presented by Klopf as the basis for several Bank Street College projects in defining the principal's role and developing appropriate pre- and in-service training thrusts. He classifies the needed competencies as personal, generic, and functional.[66]

As shown earlier, principals feel that the most important facet of their role is instructional leadership. This impression is probably due to their familiarity with the traditional "super-teacher" perception as idealized in much of the literature and most of the training they have received.

There are indications that principals are coming to accept their role as more broadly conceived and while they may intellectually wish to deny the importance of what have been known as administrative or community relations duties, their experience indicates to them the interrelation of the various categories of duties.

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[63] Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[64] McNally, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[65] Harvey Goldman, "Educating the Administrators," Chapter in Vernon F. Haubrich, *Freedom, Bureaucracy, and Schooling*, 1971 Yearbook, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (Washington, D.C.: The Association), p. 133.

[66] Gordon J. Klopf, "The Principal as an Educational Leader in the Elementary School," *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Spring 1972), pp. 119-125.

In a survey of urban and suburban principals in the St. Louis, Missouri, area, Unruh found that the secondary school principals felt the need for training programs to include in priority order the study of various aspects of administration; historical, philosophical and theoretical foundations of education; supervision and curriculum development; counseling and guidance; educational psychology and related fields; research methods and statistics; and educational technology.[67]

In the Cleveland survey mentioned previously, the seven tasks which were identified as appropriate by 90 percent more of the principals responding included the following:

-- Enlisting faculty support for desirable changes in the school

-- Identifying possible solutions for staff morale problems

-- Inducting new staff smoothly into the operation

-- Identifying staff members to whom authority can be delegated

-- Creating a democratic climate

These five are in addition to the two listed earlier:

-- Determining the quality of teaching being performed

-- Communicating to staff members their professional strengths and weaknesses.[68]

Among other areas in which competency is required for effective leadership in the urban school are the legal bases for school operation and responsibility (not only the usual body of school law but also social welfare legislation, court decisions and Federal and State governmental regulations); public institutional governance; labor-management relations; history and other aspects of the development and status of cultural and ethnic minorities; economics and public finance; management by objectives; management of time; educational centralization and decentralization.

Perhaps the competencies identified to this point relate more particularly to the institutional maintenance responsibility of the administrator than to his role as a leader of change and necessary redirection. Both are important aspects of the principalship. To neglect either is to fail to comprehend the evolving nature of schooling and its changing milieu.

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[67] Adolph Unruh, "The Metropolitan Principal: Preparation for Survival," NASSP Bulletin, Vol. 56, No. 363 (April 1972), pp. 24-33.

[68] Cleveland Public Schools, Division of Research and Development, op. cit.

To fulfill the need for continuing institutional responsiveness the principal requires skill in organization renewal, as that concept is formulated by Lippitt.

"Organization renewal is the process of initiating, creating and confronting needed changes so as to make it possible for organizations to become or remain viable, to adapt to new conditions, to solve problems, to learn from experiences and to move toward greater organizational maturity."[69]

In carrying out the demands of this role the principal is a renewal stimulator--"a person who initiates an action, process or activity intended to bring about planned change contributing to organization renewal."[70]

This concept of organization renewal is similar to Beckhard's definition of organizational development. "An effort planned organization-wide, and managed from the top, to increase organization effectiveness and health through planned interventions in the organization's processes, using behavioral-science knowledge."[71]

Competencies required for leadership in organization renewal or organizational development are identified by Beckhard as interpersonal competence; problem solving knowledge and skills; goal-setting skills; planningskills; understanding the processes of change and changing; systems diagnosis.[72]

Lippitt lists similar competencies and emphasizes the importance of mastery of certain knowledge about learning: nature and scope of the learning process; factors that condition learning; factors affecting resistance to learning.[73] Hersey and Blanchard emphasize the primary significance of human skills in management.[74]

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[69] Lippitt, op. cit., p. 1.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Richard Beckhard, Organization Development: Strategies and Models (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), p. 9.

[72] Ibid., pp. 40-42.

[73] Lippitt, op. cit., pp. 288-289.

[74] Hersey and Blanchard, op. cit., p. 7.

The principal works primarily with people. He makes, or causes to be made, decisions about pupils individually, about pupils in groups within the school and about the total pupil population in the school as a group. He interviews; explains; inquires; leads group discussions; makes formal speeches, reports and other presentations; observes behavior; gives directions; participates in group discussions; writes letters, directives, memoranda; conducts meetings; negotiates. Activities such as these consume the major part of the principal's time and energy. How effectively he performs such tasks largely determines his success as a principal.

Certainly he does other things. He reads; computes; prepares reports and other documents. He inspects and examines materials and facilities. He drafts plans. He reflects.

In considering preparation for the principalship, I have assumed that such specialized training is at the graduate level. Consequently our discussion of training relates to advanced study, not to the basic undergraduate preservice preparation of teachers.

In training programs the maxim "form follows function" ought to prevail.

In place of the courses and credits format for the administrator training program, it is recommended that a more appropriate pattern would be along the lines presented by Clifford in describing advanced training institutes. He states that the "institute represents a concentrated, intense effort on the part of a university to change the behavior of a carefully selected group of students with respect to solutions of a specific problem or a complex series of problems associated with some aspect of the public educational enterprise. The intensity and the concentration are indicated by the continuous focusing of all the activities within the program upon specific, precisely defined objectives."

The program of the institute should be jointly planned by public school and university personnel. In the absence of such joint planning and implementation, "an institute program will, almost of necessity, degenerate into a prosaic, pedestrian kind of experience with little or no chance of effecting desirable behavioral changes within the participants.

"Behavioral changes consisting of the acquisition of new or additional knowledge, information, insights, skills and attitudes should comprise the specific objectives of the institute. Use should be made of both didactic instruction and supervised experiences, especially group processes, laboratory and field experiences and demonstrations. Continuous efforts should be made to integrate theory and practice . . . The instructional program should make use of relevant content [from appropriate disciplines] which is organized in logical and psychological ways in order to facilitate continuity, sequence and integration of the learning experiences."

Progress in the program should be individually paced and continuously evaluated for and with the participant without reference to the usual clock hour academic time frame. The operational goal is individualized instruction and learning.[75]

Overdependence on didactic forms and extended study of the philosophy and history of administration without a balanced, well-planned application phase would be self-defeating. It would produce glib educationists who would be unable to determine that the lockers are assigned properly. (Anyone who has ever worked in a school with student lockers understands the basic importance of this lowly function. Unless it is done properly, the resultant confusion will prevent the school's orderly operation.)

Those who conduct a training program should understand that they are engaged in a training function and that this requires activities designed specifically in relation to training objectives.

Public school personnel who accept responsibility for mentorship in the internship should be helped particularly to understand their role as trainers.

A major advantage of a properly constructed competency related training program is the ability to eliminate those who are unable to master the required competencies while refining the skills and deepening the knowledge of those whose progress in attainment of appropriate competencies is satisfactory. Currently anyone who can "pass" each of the collection of courses can expect to be granted the principal's certificate without demonstrating any specific performance competency beyond passing written examinations in the courses.

The question of who should become a principal is unsettled. There is, and should be, a degree of self selection by those interested. As to prerequisite experience, that too remains an unresolved issue. Many consider teaching experience essential. Actually there is too little empirical evidence in this area. The field is at the hypothesis stage and considerably more testing of the idea is needed before we can state with assurance that a certain amount and kind of teaching experience is the proper base upon which to build for the principalship. At this time, though, in the interest of credibility among other school personnel, some teaching experience is probably a desirable part of the qualifications for entering the principalship.

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[75] Paul I. Clifford, "Distinguishing Characteristics of Institutes," Presentation Planning Conference, Summer Desegregation Institutes, Howard University (Washington, D.C.: June 12, 1965).

Management training programs are a regular feature of many businesses and institutions. There presently is no parallel operation in school administration. The percept of management training for persons who have not yet been awarded the first teaching credential presents an intriguing possibility for examination. The procedure might be something like the following. Persons in undergraduate educational personnel development programs would be identified on the basis of leadership interest and potential.[76] They would be offered supervised management training during their undergraduate experience, probably in the third and fourth years of the four-year baccalaureate plan. Rather than the didactic instruction in pedagogical methods and the practice teaching which consume the greater part of those years, the management trainees would study applicable behavioral science materials. In place of practice teaching, they would have an extended supervised practicum in administrative functioning. The two aspects would proceed concurrently.

The period for management training as a special branch of educational personnel development might profitably be extended one year so that the student entering school employment out of such programs would do so with five rather than four years of preparation and with the master's degree.

Admittedly there is not much likelihood that such a management training approach will be tested due to zealously guarded certification requirements of graduate study. It is a challenge, though, to the traditional principal-preparation programs whose development has certainly not been subjected to rigorous examination or comparison among various approaches.

Another issue pertains to the length of time needed to train one for the principalship. Again, determination of this matter has been based on opinion unsubstantiated by defensible data. The length of time required has usually been that time which it took to complete the courses, subject to rules about credit validity in relation to the elapse of time.

The time required for such a program as suggested here would be based on the needs of individual participants, considering their prior education and experience and demonstrated capabilities, both at entry and as the training proceeds.

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[76] John K. Hemphill, et al., Administrative Performance and Personality (New York: Burêau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962), Chapter 14, pp. 330-358.

One school year of full-time study ought to be ample for most people attracted to the program. Perhaps two summers of full-time work with an intervening year of part-time study would suffice. It is conceivable that some persons could master the necessary skills and knowledge in less than a full school year.

The key idea is that in such a competency related program, time spent in the program should be individually determined and should be based upon progress in attaining training objectives.

So far we have been discussing the training of persons entering the principalship. Those who are already in service have demonstrated as suggested earlier their need for continuing training. Frequently State requirements for recertification call for additional training. In view of the needs expressed by principals themselves as well as the requirement associated with licensing, provisions beyond, or parallel to or in place of presently available opportunities are urgently needed for principals now in service.

There is a need for orientation and training in management principles and processes; in learning, particularly adult learning; in labor management relations. The processes of organizational development constitute a field of very limited competence on the part of principals and school administrators generally. Cultural pluralism as a fact and as an evolving concept is content for the continuing training of school administrators, appropriate and necessary for all American educators, crucial for those whose schools serve urban populations.[77]

Certainly there are other important aspects related to the continuing training of principals. Just as in the training of prospective principals, the key idea is individual need assessment and program planning.

As to the format of the training, the continuing seminar featuring spaced instruction and study seems more appropriate than traditional graduate school courses. Workshops and short-term special purpose institutes are other useful training forms. A program constituted along the lines of the National Academy for School Executives, sponsored by the American Association of School Administrators, or the in-service workshops of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, offers an approach deserving consideration, particularly if an arrangement could be worked out for university affiliation and credit toward recertification.

In the training of both prospective and active principals, those planning such programs should look to the resources of universities outside the department, school or college of education to schools or colleges of management or to other parts of universities where the application of behavioral science findings to management is notably available in training programs.[78]

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[77] Madelon D. Stent, et al., _Cultural Pluralism in Education: A Mandate for Change_ (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973), pp. 13-25.

Postscript and Hope

There is little disagreement among informed observers of the American school scene concerning the importance of the principal in school effectiveness. Likewise, there seems to be general agreement that school improvement is dependent largely upon the leadership provided by principals. With both these positions I concur.

The route to effectiveness and the strategy for improvement, however, have become subjects of considerable discussion. Each educational journal seems to contain at least one article which prescribes a high way (or a low) to school change. Fortunately, we are seeing fewer that hold change and improvement to be synonymous.

Almost without exception the role of the principal is viewed as crucial. Certainly this is true of the two groups whom I characterize as neo-progressives and organization reformers. With regard to a third group, the disestablishers, they, of course, see no hope in schools as institutions; and so for them discussion of the principalship as a role seems irrelevant. Among the disestablishers are the advocates of alternatives to schools, represented by those who seek to set up structures outside "the system" to perform the work of schooling. While loudly proclaiming their disdain for the way schools within the "establishment" are organized, they set up their own structures, sometimes quite elaborate, and often operated in a highly authoritarian manner. Quite frequently, too, they try hard to avoid the imposition of standards while imposing in a rigid fashion their own non-standards.

The one thing the disestablishers seem to share with some neo-progressives is their manifest ignorance of the history of education. Consequently they are spending considerable time and money and wasting much precious time of children, reinventing wheels whose dimensions and functions are already well documented in the many well-done volumes available on the subject in any good library.

The essence of improvement in schools is not a simplistic retreat to some golden age of the past nor a rejection of form and structure. Improvement that is lasting will be the result of careful planning led by people who understand both the content and processes of schooling and are skilled in the techniques of organizational development.

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[78] Campbell, Cunningham and McPhee, op. cit., p. 253.

They will see the task as never completed but always in process. They will be discerning students of educational history and of the evolution and status of the social, economic and legal settings within which schools operate.

The decade of the sixties witnessed a high point in the clamor for greater responsiveness of schools to the needs of children and youth. Often the sound and fury so overwhelmed school officials that they responded to noise rather than to reason. They frequently accepted the jargon of the professional advocates as the views of the most direct clients of the school--children, youth, and their parents. The unpreparedness of school officials to gauge the interest of their clients led many to institute "changes" which they really found professionally unacceptable but which they thought would placate the loud advocates of "change."

This situation underscores the need for increased competency on the part of the urban principal in community analysis and organization. The principal must be the resident advocate of children's right to learn and to be taught. As such he must use his authority to safeguard the children's rights to learn from intrusion by zealous purveyors of various new "truths" and "systems."

The principal's scope of knowledge and analysis skill should be such that he is the leader in a new kind of educational consumerism in his community. He must have the capability to look dispassionately upon the many "new" ways to organize and operate schools and to lead in the organization and operation of his school in ways that base their existential rationale on more than mere affectivity or artful salesmanship. Moreover, he must develop the kind of open communication with the people of the community -- not just those who claim to speak for the community, but the parents in particular, that he will be the educational leader of the community, indeed. His office and the school must be the source of accurate and reliable school information. His accessibility must be obvious. The concept of parity, which in operation provides opportunity for influence by appropriate constituencies, must guide the affairs of the school.

The urban school, compassed around as it is by pressures and by demands, must see its opportunities and its challenges, even through the smog generated by interests competing for its attention. The kind of leadership vision required for the development and maintenance of institutional viability will require training in focusing perception on the vital issues of education for urban children and youth.

Another dimension of the leadership needs and opportunities in urban schools is related to the pluralistic nature of the urban population. Cultural pluralism is a fact in American life. It is illustrated most vividly in our urban centers, where the many cultures in the society come into confrontation with each other. Whether the confrontation will be peaceful or otherwise is in large measure dependent on the school's acceptance of and valuing of cultural pluralism. One very important way in which a school system can demonstrate its endorsement of multicultural dignity is in its staffing. In recent years urban school systems have begun to make opportunities available for leadership roles for members of various minority groups. The numbers and proportions do not yet approach equity. Clearly there is needed an affirmative action thrust to locate, recruit, train and place in positions of school leadership more representatives of various minority groups, particularly racial minorities. School renewal or reform might well begin, where it has not already done so, with such an effort.

In this discussion of the principalship as a basic key to school effectiveness and improvement I have sketched in broad outline a position that I believe to be rational and attainable. I restate at this point the firm belief that training and retraining will make the difference -- provided the training is concentrated on the development of demonstrably required competencies related to the tasks needing to be done -- the major task among them being the mobilization and development of the human and institutional capabilities which constitute the school's major resource in ways that are clearly responsive to pupils' needs.

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Chapter 7

INCREASING TEACHER COMPETENCY

by

James A. Banks
University of Wisconsin

The schools are successful in helping most children within our society to acquire the basic skills in academic subjects. The level of literacy has increased markedly in the United States within the last two decades and the number of students who drop out of school has sharply declined. However, an alarming number of students finish high school without having the skills which they need to function adequately within our highly technological society. A disproportionate number of these students belongs to lower socioeconomic and ethnic minority groups. The achievement statistics of these students are depressing. Research suggests that they not only perform poorly in academic subjects but that their achievement worsens the longer that they remain in school. Coleman states, "In the metropolitan Northeast, Negro students, on the average, begin the first grade with somewhat lower scores on standardized achievement tests than whites, are about 1.6 grades behind by the sixth grade, and have fallen 3.3 grades behind white students by the twelfth grade."[1]

Many factors, both within school and out, influence the academic achievement of students. However, Coleman found that the teacher is the most important school variable in students' academic performance.[2] A number of studies, including those of Brookover and Leacock,[3] indicate that the teacher is a cogent factor which influences the academic achievement and personality development of students. Since a large proportion of students are not acquiring the basic skills and the teacher is an extremely important variable in the academic achievement of students, the competency of teachers must be substantially improved to increase students' academic achievement and to facilitate their personality development. This statement is based on two assumptions: (1) that training can change a teacher's behavior and help teachers to acquire effective instructional skills; and (2) that changed teacher behavior can result in higher academic achievement by students and help them to develop more positive attitudes toward school and toward other individuals. In this paper, we will establish the validity of these assumptions and propose alternative ways to increase teacher competency in inservice and preservice training programs.

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[1] James A. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 20.

[2] Gerald Grant, "Essay Review: On Equality of Educational Opportunity: Papers Deriving from the Harvard University Faculty Seminar on the Coleman Report," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 42 (February 1972), pp. 109-125.

[3] Eleanor B. Leacock, Teaching and Learning in City Schools (New York: Basic Books, 1969); Wilbur B. Brookover, Edsel L. Erickson and Lee Joiner, "Self-Concept of Ability and School Achievement," in James A. Banks and William W. Joyce (Eds.), Teaching Social Studies to Culturally Different Children (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1971), pp. 105-111.

Research on Changing Teacher Behavior

Research on the effects of training on teacher performance is, unfortunately, sparse and incomplete. Most studies focus primarily on verbal interactions in the classroom. Researchers who are interested in interaction analysis (such as Flanders, Bellack, Amidon, and Allen) have tried to determine whether a teacher can be systematically trained to modify his verbal behavior. Aspects of verbal communication which have been well studied include asking high-level questions, providing systematic feedback, illustrating and using clear examples of concepts, and using more indirect teaching styles. These verbal skills correlate highly with superior teacher achievement, as we will later verify. The research which focuses on the verbal skills of the teacher is not as limiting as we might initially think. Most teacher influence is manifested through verbal expressions which, research indicates, is highly related to his nonverbal behavior.[4] Classroom dialogue is the most important element of instruction. When we study the effects of training on a teacher's verbal behavior, we learn a great deal about the ways in which training influences teacher performance.

Research also indicates that training can change a teacher's verbal behavior and style of teaching. Indirect teachers ask students more open-ended questions and provide more opportunities to make reflective responses. Direct teachers ask more low-level questions, tend to reject student responses, and tend to be more dominating. Indirect teaching is related to high student achievement. Direct teaching styles are associated with low student achievement and negative pupil attitudes toward learning and teachers. A substantial body of research indicates that training can help teachers to change their teaching styles and to become more indirect in their verbal behavior.

Flanders (1963) found that a workshop in which inservice teachers learned and used interaction analysis techniques to study their verbal behavior enabled them to become more indirect in their teaching styles.[5] In a related study, Furst (1965) concluded that student teachers who were taught interaction analysis skills exemplified significantly more positive and accepting verbal behavior than student teachers who were not taught interaction analysis.[6] Hough and Ober (1966) designed a study to determine whether training students in interaction analysis skills would influence their teaching behavior in simulated teaching situations.[7] Five different experimental groups were trained. After the training, each trainee's verbal behavior was measured while he taught in a simulated teaching situation. The researchers concluded that trainees who were taught interaction analysis developed more indirect teaching styles. Students who were trained without the use of a formal category system exemplified more direct teaching styles. The researchers state, "Subjects in the treatment groups taught interaction analysis were found to use, in their teaching simulations, significantly more verbal behaviors that have been found to be associated with higher student achievement and more positive student attitudes toward teachers and school. These same subjects were found to use significantly fewer behaviors that have been found to be associated with lower achievement and less positive attitudes."[8]

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[4] Mildred B. Smith, "Interpersonal Influence on the Occupational and Educational Aspirations and Expectations of Sixth Grade Students" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, College of Education, Michigan State University, 1961).

Studies by Ober (1966) and Kirt (1963) indicate that training in interaction analysis can enable student-teachers to become more indirect in their teaching styles. In a similar study Hill (1966) concluded that such training can change the teaching styles of elementary school teachers.[9]

Research on microteaching also indicates that training can change a teacher's behavior. In a microteaching situation, the trainee applies clearly defined teaching skills to short lessons taught to a small group of students. The technique is designed to enable the trainee to master a specific set of teaching skills. Studies by Aubertine (1964) and Schuck (1969) indicate that students who are taught by teachers who have acquired the technical skills of teaching in microteaching training programs have significantly higher achievement and more positive attitudes toward learning than students taught by teachers who do not possess these skills.[10] Allen et al. (1966) studied the effects of microteaching programs on the behavior of preservice teachers. Their research indicates that intensive training and feedback have a statistically significant impact on teacher performance.[11]

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[5] Ned A. Flanders, "Intent, Action, and Feedback: A Preparation for Teaching," Journal of Teacher Education, Vol. 14, pp. 251-260.

[6] Norma Furst, "The effects of training in interaction analysis on the behavior of student teachers in secondary schools." Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

[7] John B. Hough and Richard Ober, "The effects of training in interaction analysis on the verbal behavior of pre-service teachers," in Edmund J. Amidon and John B. Hough (Eds.), Interaction Analysis: Theory, Research, and Application (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1967), pp. 329-345.

[8] Ibid., p. 343.

[9] Ned A. Flanders, "Teacher Effectiveness," in Robert L. Ebel, Victor H. Noll and Roger M. Bauer (Eds.), Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Fourth Edition (New York: Macmillan, 1969), p. 1431.

Training programs which consist of microteaching, combined with videotaped recordings, provide trainees with opportunities to microteach lessons, and to obtain systematic feedback from experts who view their performance. These types of programs have significant influence on teacher behavior. The trainee's teaching performance is videotaped immediately before and after training. The tapes are analyzed to determine whether there have been changes in the trainee's technical skills and verbal behavior. Studies by Stromquish (1965), Orme (1966), Allen, Berliner, McDonald and Sobol (1967) indicate that a trainee's technical skills can be significantly increased when he views a videotape of his teaching performance and receives systematic feedback from instructional experts.[12] David and Smoot (1969) found that microteaching training not only helped trainees to improve their teaching performance but enabled them to acquire a wide variety of verbal skills essential to effective teaching.[13]

Borg and his colleagues (1970) tested the effects of a microteaching minicourse on the instructional skills of inservice teachers.[14] The minicourse (called Minicourse 1) was designed to bring about changes in twelve specific teaching skills, such as asking questions, dealing with incorrect answers in an accepting nonpunitive manner, redirecting the same questions to several pupils and refocusing the pupil's response. Prior to the course, three videotapes were made of each teacher's performance in his regular class. After the course, each teacher taught a lesson which was videotaped. The pretest and post test videotapes were analyzed to determine whether changes had occurred in the teachers' behavior. The researchers found that the teachers who took the minicourse significantly improved their abilities in ten of the twelve skills. The amount of class discussion and pupil talk was much higher in the post test than in the pretest tapes. Note Borg et al.: "The postcourse tapes . . . revealed large and statistically significant reductions in teacher talk at all grade levels, with the greatest reduction at the sixth grade level. After completing the course, sixth-grade teachers talked somewhat less than half as much as they had before."[15] In a follow-up study of teachers trained in Minicourse 1 Borg (1972) found that: "After 39 months, the performance of the subjects was still significantly superior to their precourse performance on eight of the ten behaviors that were scored."[16] This study supports the proposition that training cannot only change teachers' behaviors, but that the change is stable through time.

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[10] Blaine E. Ward, A Survey of Microteaching in NCATE-Accredited Secondary Education Programs (Stanford: Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, Stanford University, 1970), p. 35.

[11] Flanders, "Teacher Effectiveness," p. 1431.

[12] Ward, op. cit., p. 37.

[13] Ibid, p. 37.

[14] Walter R. Borg et al., The Mini Course: A Microteaching Approach to Teacher Education (Beverly Hills: Macmillan Educational Services, 1970), pp. 72-86.

Research on Changing Teacher Attitudes

While the teacher's verbal behavior is an exceedingly important aspect of teaching, research suggests that the attitudes which the teacher exemplifies in the classroom are extremely important because they influence student attitudes, self-concepts, and achievement. Teacher attitudes are also highly related to verbal behavior. Research supports the postulates that specific types of training programs can modify an adult's attitudes. The research which we will briefly review is related exclusively to racial attitudes. However, the types of generalizations which we derive are applicable to other kinds of attitudes. Smith (1947) concluded that the racial attitudes of adults can be significantly modified in a positive direction by contact and involvement in minority group cultures.[17] Bogardus (1948) found that a five-week intergroup education workshop, which consisted of lectures on racial problems, research projects, and visits to community agencies, had a significantly positive effect on the participants' racial attitudes.[18] In a summary of the research on the effects of training on the racial attitudes of adults Banks (1972) concluded:

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[15] _Ibid_., p. 79.

[16] Walter R. Borg, "The Minicourse as a Vehicle for Changing Teacher Behavior: A Three Year Follow-Up," _Journal of Educational Psychology_ (in press).

[17] James A. Banks, "Racial Prejudice and The Black Self-Concept," in James A. Banks and Jean D. Grambs, _Black Self-Concept: Implications For Education and Social Science_ (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 23.

[18] _Ibid_., p. 24.

> Courses which consist primarily or exclusively of lecture presentations have little import. Diverse experiences, such as seminars, visitations, community involvement, committee work, guest speakers, movies, multimedia materials, and workshops, combined with factual lectures, are more effective than any single approach. Community involvement and contact (with appropriate norms in the social setting) are the most cogent techniques.[19]

The Effects of Teacher Behavior on Student Behavior

We have established the fact through research reviews and summaries that systematic training can change a teacher's behavior-verbal skills and attitudes. We will now attempt to verify the second major assumption on which this paper is based: changed teacher behavior can result in changed student behavior as indicated by higher student academic achievement and modifications in students' attitudes. Although the research which is related to this assumption is more scarce than research on the effects of training on teacher behavior, research suggests that changes in teacher behavior can influence students' academic achievement and attitudes.

The indirect teacher encourages student participation, clarifies student ideas, and provides students with more systematic and positive feedback than the direct teacher. Teachers with direct teaching styles tend to inhibit student participation, give more directions and criticism, and exert more power over their pupils than indirect teachers. Flanders (1964) designed and implemented a study to determine the effects which direct and indirect teachers have on measured student achievement.[20] Teachers were classified as most indirect, average, and most direct. They were observed in classroom teaching situations by trained observers who used Flanders' interaction analysis system to record their communications with students for a period of two weeks. Teachers and pupils in two content areas were studied--mathematics and social studies combined with English. Achievement tests were administered to the students to determine the effects of indirect and direct teachers on their performance. The comparison of the scores indicated superior achievement by the students in the indirect classes at a statistically significant level in both social studies and mathematics. The students also responded to an attitude inventory. Students in the indirect classes had significantly more positive attitudes toward learning and teachers than students in the direct classes. This study substantiates the fact that teaching behavior resultant from training can influence student achievement at a statistically significant level.

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[19] Ibid., p. 24.

[20] Ned A. Flanders, "Some relationships among teacher influence, pupil attitudes, and achievement," in Bruce J. Biddle and William J. Ellena (Eds.), Contemporary Research on Teacher Effectiveness (New York: Holt, 1964), pp. 196-231.

An earlier study by Amidon and Flanders (1961) confirms the proposition that teacher behavior, modifiable by training, influences student achievement.[21] This study ascertained the effects of direct versus indirect styles of teaching on dependent-prone eighth grade students' ability to learn concepts and principles in geometry. Role-playing techniques were used to control the behavior of the teacher; the teachers role-played direct and indirect teaching styles. A trained observer recorded the teachers' verbal behavior. The students in the study were given a test of their dependence tendencies. Pre-tests and post tests of geometry achievement were used to ascertain the effects of the experiment. Achievement levels of the indirect groups were significantly higher than the achievement of the direct groups. The researchers conclude: "The measures of geometry achievement indicate that the dependent-prone students learned more in the classroom in which the teacher gave fewer directions, less criticism, less lecturing, more praise and asked more questions which increased their verbal participation."[22]

Similar studies in which different student behaviors were studied confirm the findings of Amidon and Flanders. Schantz (1963) demonstrated that students' verbal recall abilities are positively related to indirect teaching styles. Miller (1964) found that indirect teaching styles resulted in higher levels of thinking in children.[23]

Other studies indicate that teacher behavior which can be acquired through training influences student behavior. In a series of early studies, H. H. Anderson and his colleagues (1939, 1945, 1946) "demonstrated that dominative teacher contacts create more compliance and resistance to compliance, that dominative teacher contacts with pupils spread to the pupil-to-pupil contacts even in the absence of the teacher, and that this pattern of teaching creates situations in which pupils are more easily distracted and more dependent on teacher initiative.[24] Using the interaction analysis system formulated by Bellack et al., Furst (1967) studied the classroom dialogue in high-achieving and low-achieving high school classes.[25] "The high-achieving classes differed from the low-achieving classes by having more responsive teacher behavior, less teacher talk and more extended pupil talk, just as has been found in similar studies which involved the Flanders categories."[26]

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[21] Edmund Amidon and Ned A. Flanders, "The effects of direct and indirect teacher influence on dependent-prone students learning geometry," in Amidon and Hough, *Interaction Analysis*, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-216.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

[23] Flanders, "Teacher Effectiveness," *op. cit.*, pp. 1426-1427.

[24] Ned A. Flanders, "Intent, Action, and Feedback: A Preparation for Teaching," in Amidon and Hough, *Interaction Analysis*, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

The studies cited earlier by Aubertine, Schuck, and Borg also suggest that trained teachers can influence student behavior. Aubertine and Schuck found that students who have teachers with developed skills in microteaching situations achieve significantly higher and have more positive attitudes toward learning than students who have teachers who lack these skills.[27] Borg and his colleagues found that their microteaching Minicourse 1 not only changed the behaviors of teachers but influenced the verbal responses of their students.[28] They stated: "All three groups made substantial gains in length of pupil reply on the postcourse tapes, with fourth grade pupils nearly doubling the length of their replies and sixth grade pupils doing somewhat better than that. It is noteworthy that the greatest gain was made by sixth grade pupils, suggesting that their precourse performance was far short of their potential."[29] Flanders states, in summarizing the research on the effects of teacher behavior on student behavior and attitudes:

> The primitive quality of our present knowledge is exemplified by the concepts, methods of qualification, and lack of specificity to be found in the relationship. Nevertheless, it can now be stated with fairly high confidence that the percentage of teacher statements that make use of ideas and opinions previously expressed by pupils is directly related to average class scores on attitude scales of teacher attractiveness, liking the class, etc., as well as to average achievement scores adjusted for initial ability.[30]

The research cited above lends considerable support to the proposition that a teacher's verbal behavior influences student verbal behavior and academic achievement. A significant body of research also indicates that teacher attitudes influence students' self-concepts, attitudes, values, beliefs, and academic achievement.

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[25] Flanders, "Teacher Effectiveness," op. cit., p. 1428.

[26] Ibid., p. 1428.

[27] Ward, op. cit., p. 35.

[28] Borg, op. cit.

[29] Ibid., p. 77.

[30] Flanders, "Teacher Effectiveness," op. cit., p. 1426.

These studies collectively provide strong evidence that the teacher's perceptions of his pupils and his expectations of them have found a profound impact on their academic achievement and attitudes toward self and others. These include studies by Asbell (1963), Becker (1952), Clark (1963), Gibson (1965), Katz (1964), Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), Leacock (1969), and Rist (1970).[31] Rist states: "These authors have sought to validate a type of educational self-fulfilling prophecy: if the teacher expects high performance, she receives it, and vice versa."[32] The seminal study by Davidson and Lang (1960) indicates that students' perceptions of their teachers' feelings toward them correlate highly with self-perception. The study also indicates that the more positive a student's perception of his teacher's feelings, the higher is his academic achievement and the more desirable is his classroom behavior as rated by teachers.[33]

Earlier in this paper, we cited studies to verify the proposition that training can modify the attitudes of teachers. The evidence above suggests that teacher attitudes influence student behavior and attitudes and that changed teacher behavior can affect student behavior and beliefs.

Reforming Inservice Education of Teachers

We have argued that the competency of teachers must be considerably improved in order to increase the achievement of students and to better facilitate their personality development. We presented evidence to support the proposition that training programs can increase the competency of teachers and that their increased competency can result in changed student behavior (academic achievement and attitudes).

While the preservice education of teachers must be substantially improved, it is the teacher currently in the classroom who must serve as the agent of school reform. Immediate changes must be made in the inservice education of teachers. At this time, inservice education consists primarily of courses offered by universities and workshops sponsored by school districts. Teachers usually regard university inservice courses as largely useless. They take them primarily for two reasons: to acquire certification and to move up higher on the school district's salary scale.

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[31] See Ray C. Rist, "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 40 (August 1970), pp. 411-451.

[32] Ibid., p. 413.

[33] Helen H. Davidson and Gerhard Lang, "Children's perceptions of their teachers' feelings toward them related to self-perception, school achievement, and behavior," reprinted in Banks and Joyce, op. cit., pp. 113-127.

Most university inservice courses do not help teachers to increase their skills in teaching. They consist largely of professors talking about teaching. School district workshops sometimes relate more directly to the problems of teachers than university courses but often they are run by people who lack sufficient technical skills. Obviously, there are exceptions to these generalizations, but inservice education reform is urgently needed. We will first discuss what should be some general goals of inservice education and then suggest two basic ways in which these goals may be attained.

Goals of Inservice Education

Every classroom teacher should have the knowledge and know-how to teach students the basic skills. This statement has serious implications for inservice education. Since teachers vary greatly in both their knowledge of the basic academic subjects and their skills to teach them, different types of training programs and experiences must be made available for teachers. Some teachers cannot teach children how to read and write because they cannot read and write very well themselves. Many such teachers relate well to children and are excellent classroom managers.

These types of teachers should be provided opportunities whereby they can master the basic concepts and principles which constitute the academic disciplines. The type, quality, and length of the academic experience would vary greatly, depending upon the specific needs of a teacher or a group of teachers. A teacher who has serious gaps in his academic knowledge may need to spend a year or more in a basic liberal arts program at a local university. A teacher who cannot perform the basic operations in mathematics may merely need several university courses in mathematics. Some teachers' skills may be so poor that they will need high school level courses which they could take at a local community college.

Academic knowledge alone, however, is insufficient for effective teaching. Some teachers are excellent writers but do not have the skills and abilities to teach children how to write. Other teachers know a great deal about mathematics but are unable to teach children how to perform basic operations in mathematics. These kinds of teachers need to acquire teaching skills. More disciplinary knowledge will not necessarily enable them to become more effective teachers.

Both theoretical knowledge about pedagogy and training in the use and application of this knowledge are absolutely imperative for any sound inservice education program. Theory is often damned by teachers because most preservice and inservice programs include theoretical components but fail to provide opportunities for teachers to apply theories in training situations. Smith has said, "To train someone is to guide him to acquire a certain skill. The trainee is put in a situation where he can perform the skill, then is stimulated to perform it. His performance is analyzed and assessed. He and the teacher suggest changes in his performance.[34]

Whatever the varying needs of teachers, the school district must develop ways to help the teacher to determine what his needs are and provide opportunities whereby he can attain knowledges and skills which he needs without being penalized, ridiculed or reduced in status. The teacher must be regarded for recognizing his deficiencies and seeing ways to remedy them. The teacher who needs to spend a year in a general liberal education program in a university should be granted a sabbatical with pay and given recognition when he returns to his teaching assignment. Teachers who need to acquire basic knowledge in any of the academic areas should be released during the school day to take courses at a local university. If a sufficient number of teachers in a particular school or district needs to strengthen their backgrounds in a particular discipline, specialized courses should be set up for them within their school or district during the school day.

Inservice education should be very convenient for teachers and should be a central part of schooling. Whatever is needed to increase the academic achievement and personality development of children is a legitimate endeavor for the school. Both teacher learning and student learning must take place in the public schools. Inservice education should not be an after-school or summer-only process. If inservice education does not take place during the regular school day, teachers will view it as peripheral to teaching and schooling.

The Theoretical Component of Inservice Education

The theoretical component of inservice education must help teachers to better understand the nature of instruction and child development and to acquire the concepts which they need to interpret classroom behavior. Classroom teachers also need to master principles and theories about children who come from diverse ethnic and social-class groups. Many teachers teach students who belong to ethnic and social-class groups about which they know very little because of serious gaps in their preservice training. There is a substantial body of research which documents the ineffectiveness of teachers in helping these children to acquire the basic skills. These students will not excel academically until their teachers acquire the concepts necessary to interpret and understand their behavior, which often differs from that of majority group children. The theoretical component of inservice education should also help teachers select concepts and principles from the academic disciplines, organize it for effective instruction and develop successful strategies for teaching it.

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[34] B. Othanel Smith, Teachers for the Real World (Washington, D.C.: AACTE, 1969), p. 71.

The Training Component of Inservice Education

The training component of inservice education should train teachers to master and develop proficiency in teaching skills, such as establishing set, achieving closure, providing feedback, reinforcement, illustrating and using clear examples. Teachers can acquire these skills in training situations in which they work with their own children.

Microteaching is a promising technique which can be used to help teachers master teaching skills. Microteaching is a "scaledown teaching encounter applying clearly defined teaching skills to brief lessons taught to small groups of students."[35] After identifying specific teaching skills in performance terms, the trainer can have teachers prepare and teach five to ten minute microlessons. After a teacher has taught a lesson to a group of his students, a trainer and the teacher's colleagues can provide the teacher with feedback. The teacher would be reinforced for desired behavior as well as have his errors pointed out. The teacher can then reteach the microlesson. Further reteaching of the lesson and critiques will help the teacher to master specific teaching skills. Microlessons can also be videotaped. A videotaped microlesson will enable the trainer and the trainee to have a more productive feedback and critique session. Peer critique and assessment are extremely important for teachers; professional help from their colleagues can help improve skills in teaching because of the high credibility that teachers give to their peers' judgments.[36]

In addition to microteaching, interaction analysis can become an important element in the inservice training of teachers. Using interaction analysis systems, such as those developed by Flanders and Bellack et al., several of a teacher's colleagues and/or trained university professors could observe and record his verbal interactions with children and provide the teacher with feedback to enable him to improve his verbal skills. The teacher's nonverbal interactions with children could also be studied.

Approaches to Inservice Education

We have stated that reform in inservice education is needed and have described some basic components which we feel should comprise any teacher education program. These include providing each teacher the opportunities to acquire the knowledge and skills which he needs during the regular school day. We also suggested that all inservice education programs should include theoretical and training components.

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[35] Ward, op. cit., p. 2.

[36] Ward, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

Pilot inservice programs should be implemented in which clinical experiences such as microteaching are emphasized and in which governance is exercised by different groups. Both the substance of inservice programs and their governance should be varied in pilot programs. It may be that who governs inservice programs is unrelated to their influence on teacher behavior. However, many people in the profession, especially classroom teachers and teacher organization personnel, do not believe this. Pilot programs will help us determine whether or not governance is a significant variable. We will describe two basic approaches which we feel should be tried and tested in pilot situations. The approaches are not mutually exclusive, but they differ in several significant ways.

University Inservice Programs

Pilot programs should be devised and implemented which are essentially university manned and operated and have strong input and cooperation with local schools and central school administration. In this document, we have suggested that the unit of reform should be the school building and that reform should focus on teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interaction. A university operated inservice education program could be an integral part of attempts to reform an individual school or a group of schools.

In this type of program, the university staff, in cooperation with the local school staff would determine the training needs of the teaching and administrative personnel of the school and devise experiences--such as workshops and courses--which could satisfy the specific needs of the staff within that school. The initial phase of the program would consist of a school staff assessment plan. It may be determined that the staff within a particular school needs specific help in the teaching of reading, mathematics, and the language arts. The university staff would devise and implement a training program to help the teachers in these three areas. The program could consist of lectures, clinical experiences such as microteaching, curriculum revision, and the evaluation and selection of materials.

The unit of reform would be an individual target school. The university would formulate a comprehensive and long-range plan to reform the entire school unit. The university's relationship with the target school would be a continuing one. Some university specialists in such areas as curriculum development, group dynamics, classroom discipline, and in content areas such as the language arts and social studies, would work full time within the school for long periods ranging from several months to several years. Classroom teachers in the target school would spend time at the university. University specialists working in the target school would help the teachers to develop materials, formulate and implement teaching strategies, and learn ways to modify student behavior. Instructional specialists would observe teachers in their own classrooms, videotape their performance, and provide them with systematic feedback about their teaching. They would also do demonstration teaching to help teachers master specific teaching skills. Teachers in the target school would spend time at the university obtaining knowledge and using resources which could not be conveniently brought to the school. For example, the teacher who needed a basic course in mathematics would be released during the time that the class met each day.

The target school would also serve as a site for training preservice teachers. After completing a preclinical experience at the university, each student would complete an internship in the target school. A team of university specialists and master teachers would devise a program for the intern and supervise his training. Whenever possible the intern would be employed by the target school or by a school within the same district when he completed the program. In this kind of situation, the new teacher would be socialized in a school environment in which high performance and continuing training were established norms. This would mitigate the tendency for the new teacher to inculcate nonprofessional norms which are pervasive in most public schools today. Many new teachers are excited about teaching when they first graduate from college. However, when placed in a school environment in which high performance is not valued or encouraged, their excitement quickly vanishes. Public schools run cooperatively by universities and school districts that encourage high performance would help to solve this problem.

Many components of the inservice education program which we have described can be found in some existing programs. In the 1970-71 school year, the Central Region District of the Seattle Public Schools implemented a program to revise the Region's social studies, language arts and mathematics programs. The school staff solicited the help of a local university specialist in each of these content areas to help district curricula committees devise and implement new curricula. The teachers on the committees were released in the afternoon one day each week and were paid on Saturdays to work on the curricula revision programs. Inservice workshops were planned by the university specialists to train the district's teachers how to implement the new curricula. While this was a promising program, it suffered because inservice education and curriculum development were perceived as "after school" activities rather than as part of schooling process.

Florida State University has established training programs in a number of public schools. They call their plan the "portal school concept." The portal school concept is designed to "(1) serve as a site for continuing the training of beginning teachers, (2) serve as a principal site for school district inservice training, (3) serve as an entry point for new school organization, staffing patterns, multi-media curricula, and instructional strategies, (4) provide a field of context for assessment of teaching competence, (5) provide feedback which can be used for modifying preservice phases of teacher training, inservice programs, and the role of the State Departments of Education in improving the quality of school personnel, and (6) serve as a learning center for the use of the State Departments of Education and universities in disseminating and evaluating innovative instructional practices and curricula for use on the public schools."[37] Primary emphasis in the portal school is on training newly hired teachers and intensive inservice education for experienced teachers already hired by a school district.

Teacher Controlled Inservice Programs

Pilot programs should also be implemented in which teachers have total control over their inservice education. Representative teachers within a cluster of schools could constitute a committee which would design inservice education programs for teachers within the district. Some of the programs could be designed for the majority of the teachers in the district; others could be designed for teachers who teach particular subjects or grades. We are assuming that the needs of particular groups of teachers often differ.

In this type of pilot inservice program, other groups within the school district and in the community would provide teachers with technical assistance, resources, and materials. School administrators, local universities, school supervisors, and publishers of educational materials would need to cooperate fully with teachers in order for this kind of pilot program to succeed. Teachers will need technical help to assess their needs and to plan and implement effective programs.

A recent inservice program implemented in the South District Region of the Seattle Public Schools suggests that a teacher-operated inservice program is one promising way to close the gap between inservice education and the problems which the classroom teacher faces. In this program, a committee of classroom teachers was given the funds to plan an inservice program to help the Region's teachers work more effectively with children from diverse ethnic and cultural groups. A committee of teachers interviewed teachers in their region about the kinds of problems which they faced in ethnic education and about the types of experiences which would best help solve them.

After making an assessment of the teachers' needs, the committee solicited the help of various experts within the school and local university community to help make the inservice program a success. Because they had little experience in planning inservice programs, the committee members solicited the help of a local university professor who was a specialist in ethnic education and who had side experience in planning and conducting workshops for teachers. The committee asked this professor to serve as their chief consultant. The chief consultant presented the committee with many alternative suggestions. The committee members listened to them all, used some of them, and many suggestions from other teachers and school district personnel. The committee relied heavily upon people in the university community; they solicited the help of professors in the schools of education, social work, arts and sciences. The chief consultant encouraged the committee to make good use of teachers within the district who were knowledgeable. About half of the workshop leaders were classroom teachers.

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[37] Norman R. Dodl, "Florida State University Portal School Concept" (Tallahassee: Florida State University, July 1, 1972), pp. 1-2. (Mimeographed paper.)

This inservice program was not a panacea--it had several problems, but we believe that it had many desirable features which should be more widely tried and tested in other school districts. A committee of classroom teachers had major responsibility for planning and implementing the workshop. The teachers solicited the help of experts from many segments within the community. When given the responsibility for their own training, teachers will take this responsibility seriously and will make every effort to make the program a success. The teachers also chose some of their own colleagues as trainers. We believe that this gesture was especially wise since teachers give more credibility to their own colleagues than to anyone else. The teachers also came to the university for help. We should point out that the cochairman of the committee chose a former education professor to serve as the chief consultant to the workshop. We make this point merely to suggest that university people will not be "written out" of a teacher controlled inservice program if they have demonstrated that they can be of help to teachers.

This inservice program was adversely affected by several limiting conditions. The teachers on the planning committee did not have the time they needed to plan and organize the program because they were released from their classes only a few days. School districts must release classroom teachers from their teaching responsibilities if they expect them to take leadership roles in planning inservice programs. When a classroom teacher is released from his teaching responsibilities to assume a leadership role, it is essential that the district administration assure him that his class will be taken over by someone he feels is excellent. Without this assurance, good teachers will not willingly leave their classrooms to assume leadership roles.

Teacher-operated inservice programs will not be successful unless teachers are given technical assistance in the assessment of their individual needs, in the identification of competent experts--nationally or within the community, in the location of related materials and in the evaluation of the outcomes of the inservice program. In the program which we have described above, the workshop sessions (as revealed by teacher evaluations) were quite helpful to many of the participating teachers but were of little help to others. Many of the teachers needed different kinds of experiences than those planned by the committee. Although the teachers had tried to determine the needs of all workshop participants, more technical assistance by evaluation specialists would have enabled them to do a better job. The workshops were valuable for social studies and literature teachers (because of the expertise of the workshop leaders), but they were less valuable for teachers in other subject areas. If the needs of the workshop participants had been more carefully ascertained, at least two different types of workshops could have been planned.

While the workshop staff in our case study was outstanding, one of the local university experts was exceedingly poor and several of the other participants were not as competent as was desirable. In choosing leaders for the program, the committee, because it lacked experience in planning inservice programs and was not acquainted with many experts in ethnic education, relied heavily upon the judgments of a number of people in the local university and in the school district. The committee was not given the quality of help in identifying competent people which it needed. School districts which wish to implement teacher-run inservice programs must formulate a systematic and on-going plan to identify competent local experts in various areas in which teachers need help. Ethnic education, the teaching of the new curriculum materials and the evaluation of materials are the types of areas in which teachers need and will solicit help if they are given an opportunity. While local experts should be used whenever possible, especially classroom teachers, often it will be necessary for a district to get help from other areas because of the lack of competent local "experts" within a particular area. Bringing in experts from other areas will obviously be more costly.

Inservice education programs must be funded adequately if they are going to help teachers. We cannot overemphasize this point. Most of the inservice programs in which this writer has participated were "soft money" projects. Money for inservice education should be part of the regular school district budget and it should be allocated, just as pupil expenditures are allocated, on the basis of the number of teachers in the district and their special needs. It is conceivable that teachers within some regions of a school district will need more money for inservice programs because they are working with groups of children who have special needs, such as low-income groups or children who come to school speaking a language other than standard English.

For inservice programs to succeed, they must continue over a sufficient period of time. In the program which we have been discussing, sessions which extended over a period of three days were only the beginning of a continuing program. The program will continue and the chief consultant will work with the committee and the region's ethnic consultant (supervisor) to plan a series of experiences for the participating teachers which will last for at least a period of one year. The details of this program are still to be worked out but the year-long program will include demonstration teaching, work in the evaluation of materials, and sessions in which teachers attempt to come to grips with their attitudes toward different cultures within our society. The structuring and testing of units is also planned for the program. A program of continuing evaluation is also an integral part of the tentative plans. The help of a local university expert in testing and evaluation will be solicited to design and implement this phase of the program.

Too often, school district inservice programs are too short to do much good; such as three-day workshops which focus on some specific problem which teachers currently face, such as ethnic education, drug education or the teaching of the new social studies. While these short sessions may have some value, we seriously question the value of such superficial approaches to inservice education. A sound inservice program for teachers must deal with both the theoretical and training aspects of teaching, and this simply cannot be done in three days, no matter how competent the training staff might be. A good inservice program must deal with the technical skills which are involved in teaching, the formulation of instructional objectives, teaching strategies, evaluation techniques and the characteristics of pupils.

Staff Development Center

These aspects of teaching can be handled in a wide variety of ways. The establishment of a staff development center within each region of the school district or within the district (if it is small) is one promising way in which an inservice program might be established. The primary goals of such a center would be to help teachers gain greater proficiency in the skills which comprise teaching. Classroom teachers could play the main role in the governance of such a center but other community agencies, such as the university, the local educational agency, professional teacher organizations and community representatives should be provided opportunities to give input into the formulation of the center's policy.

As we envision it, this center would be equipped so that teachers could film microlessons using their own children and obtain feedback from instructional experts which will enable them to improve their teaching skills. Teachers would also be able to observe lessons taught by instructional experts from other schools and from local universities.

This center would also contain the latest instructional materials which have been produced by such agencies as commercial publishers, the regional labs, R and D centers and other school districts. One major role of the center would be to help close the increasing gap between the development of research and materials and their utilization in the classroom. Experts would help teachers evaluate the materials and plan effective strategies for using them in their classrooms. We cannot overemphasize the importance of the need for teachers to attain help in the evaluation and selection of instructional materials.

The staff development center would also contain professional books, research journals and reading rooms where teachers could spend time in a relaxed, attractive setting keeping up on the latest theoretical developments in their specialized areas. The Instructional Services Center in the Atlanta Public Schools is a prototype of this component of the staff development center which we are proposing. In an attractive building which contains rooms in which inservice education is held for the district is a modern professional library which contains an excellent collection of magazines and books. The library is also well staffed. Teachers not only spend many hours in this room reading and thinking, but they spend time in other rooms of the center exchanging ideas.

This suggests another important function which a staff development center should fulfill. It should be a place where teachers can share ideas, problems, and frustrations. Drummond has suggested the need for teachers to have periodic retreats in which they can talk about the problems of life and the meaning of the school.[38] ~~A staff~~ development center could partially fulfill this function. An attractive building away from the city (a location such as the Instructional Services Center in Atlanta) can serve to some extent as a retreat for teachers. Many organizations recognize the need for their employees to "get away from it all" in order to discuss problems and propose solutions. A staff development center should also contain small seminar rooms where teachers could plan and develop curriculum projects. Curriculum specialists should be on the staff and curriculum materials should also be a part of the professional library. Individual carrels should also be in the center. Here, teachers could work on individual projects. Self-instructional units and modules designed to help teachers solve specific problems, such as how to use computer services or how to test students for concept mastery, would be a valuable part of the center. In other words, the center should be a place in which either an individual teacher or group of teachers can get expert help on the problems which they face in their daily work. Films, records, and other audiovisual materials should be readily available for teachers. Since most teachers work until 3 p.m., the center should be opened evenings during the week and on Saturdays and Sundays until at least 5 p.m.

The staff development center could also serve as a training location for interns in the schools. Here the interns could also use the services available to teachers, observe master teachers teaching microlessons, and receive feedback from his master teacher and other instructional specialists. The intern would spend most of his time in the schools but a part of it in the center.

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[38] William Drummond, in a private conference with the author, July 1972, Clearwater Beach, Florida.

Reforming Preservice Education of Teachers

Selection of Students

If meaningful reforms are to take place in the training of teachers, we must significantly change the ways in which teachers are selected. Current research indicates that we are using criteria to select students for teacher education programs which have little relationship to effectiveness in the classroom and differ little from the criteria used to select students for general university programs. While these criteria predict reasonably accurately how students will perform in traditionally taught courses, they are ineffective predicators of teacher effectiveness, if we use measured student outcomes as the ultimate measure of teacher effectiveness.

In a recent survey, Haberman found that grades in traditional courses are still the most frequently used criteria for selecting students for teacher education programs.[39] Other traditional criteria often used include performance on academic proficiency tests in English, speech, and mathematics. Highly questionable and unreliable indices such as academic references, letters of recommendation, and completion of statements such as "Why I Want to Teach" are still very important in the selection of students for teacher education programs.

Diverse approaches for selecting students should be tried and the outcomes of each of these should be rigorously tested, revised, and refined until we have more reliable ways to select students and predict their teacher effectiveness. To plan a sound selection program, it is necessary to clearly delineate the kinds of behaviors which we will expect students to perform at the conclusion of a teacher education program. Attitudes and personality scales and a mini-field experience can be used to determine an applicant's ability to demonstrate the skills which are considered necessary for the completion of a teacher education program. Such skills might include teaching concepts with positive and negative examples and developing a more indirect style of asking students questions. Immediately after a student had applied for admission into a teacher education program, he would be admitted conditionally with the understanding that permanent admission into the program will be contingent upon his demonstration of competency in a series of clearly specified skills, such as those delineated above. An experience program for the student could be planned to last from several months to one year.

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[39] Martin Haberman, "Guidelines for the Selection of Students into Programs of Teacher Education," a paper prepared for the Association of Teacher Educators, Chicago, February 1972 (mimeographed), p. 35.

During this period, and for only part of the time spent in the university, the student would be taught some theoretical components of pedagogy and shown examples of student behavior through simulation and protocol materials. In simulated teaching, microteaching and classroom situations under supervision and systematic instruction, the student will be required to demonstrate competency in skills which he has been taught at some predetermined criterion level. In the mini-field experience the student would be required to master only a sample of the skills which are considered essential for effective teaching.

Other variables should also be introduced into selection criterion pilot programs, including the involvement of the liberal arts faculty, classroom teachers, other school practitioners and community representatives in formulating the criteria for teacher education admission. In-depth and systematic interviews might also become part of a planned variation type of selection program.

The Academic Preparation of Teachers

Much attention has been devoted in recent years to the role of academic departments and colleges in the preparation of teachers. There is general consensus that reform in this aspect of teacher education is sorely needed but considerable disagreement about the kind of reforms which should take place. Many educational leaders, especially those in academic departments, argue that the main problem in teaching in the lower and high schools results primarily from the fact that teachers do not have an adequate grasp of the subjects which they teach. A number of federally sponsored programs including the NDEA Program, implemented in 1958, and the Basic Studies Program which was authorized in 1968, were designed to help preservice and inservice teachers become more proficient in the disciplines which they teach. The results of these efforts have not been impressive. While we strongly believe that a teacher must know the organizing concepts, principle and theories within a discipline in order to teach it, we believe that it is an oversimplification to argue that a teacher who has a firm grasp of the subject matter within his specialized discipline will automatically become a good teacher. This is especially true given the ways in which academic subjects are organized and taught. Teaching consists of a very complex set of skills and mastery of subject matter is merely one requisite for effective teaching. As we will argue later, the organization and teaching of academic subjects must be substantially changed in order to help train the kinds of teachers which are needed for today's schools.

To become effective teachers, education students must obtain a general liberal education. The kind of education which we have in mind would not differ from that needed by any other college student; it should consist of studies in the humanities, social sciences and the natural sciences. Such study should help students obtain basic information about the nature of man and the ways in which he has both shaped and been shaped by his physical and social environment. A liberal education should also provide students with the conceptual frameworks necessary for them to organize, interpret and understand their observations of human behavior. Students who obtain a liberal education will also be able to effectively participate in shaping public and social policy within a democratic society, and to develop a sense of political efficacy.

Substantial reform is needed in academic courses if students are to obtain the kind of liberal education which we envision and the kind of education which will help them solve the social problems which are polarizing our nation. Such reform is not only imperative for the effective education of classroom teachers but will benefit all students within our colleges and universities, whether they are preparing to be laboratory technicians, doctors, lawyers or secretaries.

The focus of academic courses at the undergraduate level must shift from an emphasis on the mastery of facts and low-level knowledge to higher levels of knowledge. Students often enter professional schools of education knowing a great deal about isolated facts within a discipline but little about its organizing concepts, principles and theories. When a student is unable to relate discrete facts to systems of concepts and theories the facts are, in Taba's words, "dead end."

In addition to studying higher level knowledge and relationships within the academic subjects, students should also study and master the modes of inquiry which are used within the natural and social sciences and the humanities. Knowledge is not only accumulating at an unbelievable rate but as new knowledge accumulates, old knowledge often becomes obsolete and useless. Students, in order to become effective teachers and citizens, must be taught the *processes* which researchers use to formulate problems, to gather data, to test propositions and to derive conclusions. Since the nature of our society is constantly changing and the knowledge which an individual needs to effectively participate in society changes with the times, teaching students methods for attaining knowledge and solving problems may ultimately be more important than teaching them the conclusions and conceptual frameworks which have been formulated by experts. Because scientific propositions and generalizations are always subject to revision, the methods which scientists use to derive knowledge and to test propositions are extremely important. Modes of inquiry will allow the teacher to constantly expand, revise and reconstruct concepts, principles and theories. Scientific postulates and assumptions may be changed when they cease to be functional within a society. Students should be equipped with the skills to reconstruct scientific assumptions and to create new knowledge.

The knowledge needed for a liberal education must not only consist of high-level concepts, principles and theories, and focus on the modes of inquiry used by researchers, but it must also be interdisciplinary. Knowledge from any one discipline is insufficient to make intelligent decisions regarding issues such as poverty or war. The student must be able to view these problems from the perspectives of the disciplines which constitute the social sciences, natural sciences and the humanities in a unified fashion. The academic courses within the university are highly fragmented, discrete and compartmentalized. Not only is little effort made to relate course offerings within the total university, but course compartmentalization usually exists within departments. Thus, a student may take a course in the sociology of small groups and another in the sociology of the family but probably will not be helped to see how both courses are relevant to common problems.

The series of compartmentalized courses which undergraduates in general education are required to take should be replaced by a basic core of interdisciplinary courses which focus on the problems of man and emphasize the contributions which each discipline can make to the understanding and resolution of them. We are defining an interdisciplinary course as one in which a series of problems are studied--as war, pollution, poverty, and racial prejudice--and students are taught how to use concepts and theories from a number of related disciplines--psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics--to understand and make decisions regarding the problems. For example, in an interdisciplinary behavioral science course in which students study the race problem in our society, they would use such concepts as norm (sociology), culture (anthropology), scarcity (economics), and power (political science), to understand the causes of prejudices. They would also use concepts from related disciplines to decide what actions they would like to take to help resolve the problem of racial prejudice in America.

The nature of science and the meaning of "objectivity" must become an important component in the general education of teachers. Many teachers who are unaware of the assumptions and limitations of science elevate scientific hypotheses to the status of conclusive truth and accept the tentative findings of scientific "experts" as final. Science is based upon a set of assumptions about the natural world and the nature of man. It is important for classroom teachers to be familiar with these assumptions and postulates so that they will be adequately aware of both the strengths and limitations of science.

The Academic Preparation of Subject-Matter Specialists

The kind of general liberal education which we have discussed above should be obtained by all undergraduate students, including those in education and other professional schools. However, the schools more and more express a need for teachers who have specialized competencies. This trend is likely to continue. High schools have traditionally hired teachers with specialized subject-matter competencies. The growing number of middle schools will also demand teachers with specialized subject-matter mastery. Now, even in elementary schools, we see more and more subject-matter specialists. Concomitant with the increasing demand for specialists has been increased recognition by a large number of educators that teachers must be able to work together in interdisciplinary teams. While teachers will need to obtain a high level of competency in some specialized areas, they also need to have some level of competency in a range of disciplines if they are to work effectively in teams and in interdisciplinary programs.

Students who are interested in teaching in early childhood, primary and middle-school programs need to take a range of courses in mathematics, science, social science, communication and the humanities. Traditionally, lower-school specialists have taken work in these areas. However, we believe that at least two major kinds of reform are needed if these courses are to help students become better teachers: (1) the content of the courses should be changed so that the nature and inquiry modes of the disciplines are stressed, and (2) the ways in which the courses are taught should be changed. Lectures and textbook readings are the two basic ways in which such courses are now taught. Since teachers tend to teach in the ways in which they were taught, these courses should be taught in ways that will provide opportunities for students to use the inquiry modes unique to the disciplines to derive key concepts, principles and generalizations. This kind of course reform will require smaller classes, more individualized instruction and extensive laboratory work by the student.

In addition to obtaining a general mastery of content in the natural, social and behavioral sciences and the humanities and language arts, specialists in the middle grades should also take concentrated work in one of these areas, such as reading or the social studies. Such specialized competencies could be obtained during the undergraduate or graduate program or in inservice programs. Academic courses for the high-school subject-matter specialist should focus on key concepts, laws, theories and methods of inquiry within the disciplines. The teacher must not only master the conclusions and theories which have been formulated by scholars in the field; he must be able to use the modes of inquiry within the discipline in order to formulate and test scientific and normative propositions.

Not only must effective subject-matter specialists learn about the nature and structures of their particular disciplines, they must also learn how to relate that knowledge to that of other disciplines. We recommend that high school teachers major in academic areas, not in particular disciplines. Rather than major in history, a high school teacher should major in the social and behavioral sciences and focus part of his work in history. The science teacher should major in the natural or physical sciences, rather than biology or physics. The language teacher should major in the language arts and take courses in English, linguistics, communications, and literature.

Modern high school courses in communications, humanities, the physical sciences and the natural sciences also need teachers who have been broadly trained. A case in point are high school courses in language. Many of these courses draw heavily from the field of linguistics and communication; yet most students who majored in English know little about these disciplines. While we believe that upper-grade and high school teachers should major in academic areas rather than in specialized disciplines, we feel that it is necessary for a student who majors in the social and behavioral sciences to study one discipline in depth, such as political science or anthropology.

The Professional Components of Teacher Education

Theoretical Components

The theoretical components of teacher education should equip prospective teachers with the concepts, principles and theories which they need to interpret student behavior and to make instructional decisions which will maximize student learning. The successful teacher must be able to exemplify what Houston et al. has called "clinical behavior."[40] In other words, he must be able to formulate instructional goals, select appropriate content and materials, devise and implement effective teaching strategies, evaluate the outcomes of instruction, diagnose learning difficulties and prescribe remediation. A successful teacher approaches these tasks in a scientific rather than in a "trial and error" fashion. The teacher who exhibits clinical behavior understands why he acts the way he does.

The theoretical component of teacher education should be designed to help the student master the concepts and principles which will enable him to make wise instructional decisions. We will now focus on what we believe are some of the essential elements of a sound theoretical program in teacher education.

The prospective teacher should be taught how to select knowledge from the disciplines which is appropriate for elementary and secondary school students. We are assuming that the student has mastered disciplinary knowledge during his general-liberal education program and study of the academic disciplines. General-liberal education and academic courses are not and should not necessarily be designed to satisfy the specific needs of prospective teachers. It is the job of professional methods courses (in reading, language arts, social studies, science, and mathematics) to help the prospective teacher learn how to select appropriate concepts and principles from the academic disciplines and areas which elementary and high school students should learn.

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[40] W. Robert Houston (Project Director), Behavioral Science Elementary Teacher Education Program (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. VI-3.

The professional methods course should also teach students how to organize disciplinary knowledge in a way which will help pupils to master it in the most efficient ways and to formulate successful strategies for teaching it.

To intelligently select knowledge from the academic disciplines, organize it for effective learning and devise successful teaching strategies, a student must know something about the nature of knowledge and undertake a study of "knowledge about knowledge." The study of theory related to the nature and origin of knowledge is known as epistomology in philosophy and as the sociology of knowledge in the behavioral sciences. It includes an investigation of the modes of inquiry which the scientist uses to formulate problems and to test propositions, the assumptions on which scientific knowledge is based, the limitations of knowledge and the various forms of knowledge (concepts, laws, generalizations, and theories). In a study of the nature of knowledge, the student also learns to distinguish normative from empirical propositions and the different ways in which these two kinds of statements are validated.

In addition to focusing on the selection, organization, and the structure of content in the disciplines, the professional component of teacher education should deal with the nature of the teaching process so that the student will be able to identify and manipulate the important variables which constitute teaching. This component should deal with classroom verbal behavior and how the teacher can improve his verbal skills and those of his pupils. The logical aspects of teaching and the classroom as a social system should also be analyzed.[41]

Preparation to Teach Minorities

The prospective teacher should also learn important principles about human learning and about the characteristics of various student populations and the communities in which they live. Because most of today's school children live in urban areas, the prospective teacher should learn more about cities and the groups which live in them than education students have learned in the past. Traditionally, professional education courses have dealt primarily with the problem of white middle-class students and have largely excluded information about other groups, especially poor children who are black, red and brown. Our cities are becoming increasingly poor and black; and most of the teachers which are being trained today will find themselves teaching children from low-income ethnic minority groups. Even though it is an educational cliché that teachers must understand their children and the communities in which they are socialized, this statement is not taken seriously by many educators who plan programs to prepare teachers.

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[41] Ned A. Flanders, Analyzing Classroom Behavior (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1971); Arno A. Bellack, Herbert M. Kliebard, Ronald T. Hyman and Frank L. Smith, Jr., The Language of the Classroom (New York: Teachers College Press, 1966).

Most universities have responded to the need to help teachers gain more knowledge about poor and minority group children by creating specialized elective courses which deal with ethnic education. This type of gesture is based on the assumption that only those teachers who want to teach minority children will benefit from the knowledge contained in such courses. Universities which respond to this problem merely by creating elective courses are not facing up to their professional responsibilities and do not take seriously the unique problems which poor and minority group children face in the school. Because our population is highly mobile and our cities are becoming increasingly poor and black, every teacher who graduates from a school of education in the United States should be familiar with the unique and serious problem which minority youth face within the larger society and in the schools and should be able to work with them effectively and to teach them the basic skills. All prospective teachers should have some experiences with poor and minority group youths during their internship in the public schools and perhaps some observational experience in inner-city communities.

While specialized courses should be available for those students who have interests in teaching poor and minority group children, information dealing with these groups should be an integral part of every facet of the professional component of teacher education. The emphasis should not be on the problems which these groups experience within our society but on effective ways to teach them the skills which they will need to function adequately in our technological society. Evidence does not support the notion that an able teacher of middle-class white children is also effective when working with poor and minority group children. A significant body of research, including the seminal studies by Leacock and Rist,[42] indicate that the intensively negative attitudes which most teachers have toward poor and minority group children often prevent them from teaching these pupils the basic skills. Research further suggests that these groups of children have some unique learning problems which require a teacher with specialized skills. The research by Hunt, Deutsch, and Ausubel, to name only a few, illuminates the special learning problems which these children have which make some strategies effective with middle-class children ineffective when used with inner-city children. We cannot overemphasize the serious learning problems which these children have and the urgent attention which they merit.

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[42] Eleanor B. Leacock, op. cit.; Ray C. Rist, "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," Harvard Educational Review (August 1970), pp. 411-449.

Protocol Materials in Preservice Programs

Smith contends that prospective teachers can best learn the concepts which constitute professional education and to use them to interpret student behavior by studying actual behavioral situations which have been recorded on videotape or film. He calls these recorded behavioral situations protocol materials:[43] "The identification, analysis, and sequential arrangement of behavioral situations is perhaps the most difficult part of building a program of teacher education."[44] Orlosky defines a protocol as "a representation of reality, written or filmed, that portrays a specific concept."[45] The idea of using protocol materials in teacher education programs merits further resources and careful testing in programs which have well-trained personnel. The use of protocol materials has several advantages. The instructor can capture classroom examples of concepts such as positive reinforcement and opinion leader on tape or film. The videotape or film can be replayed as many times as it is necessary for students to master the concepts. In a protocol, the student's attention is also focused on behavior which exemplifies the concept, while distractors or behavior which is unrelated to the concept, are removed or greatly reduced. Protocol materials are not designed to substitute a student's observations of real classroom situations but rather to enhance his ability to interpret classroom behavior more intelligently. In a real-life situation, however, behavior which exemplifies examples of concepts which a student wishes to observe may occur only once during a particular period of observation or it may not occur at all.

Under a project funded by the United States Office of Education, a number of institutions, primarily universities, are developing protocol materials which focus on concepts in the content areas, instructional preliminaries and processes, student characteristics and behavior, teacher qualities and group behavior in the classroom. Because of the potential effectiveness of protocol materials in teacher education, we recommend that the development of these materials be continued and that a major effort be made to test them in teacher training programs in various teacher training institutions throughout the United States. In order for the materials to be tested in a wide variety of settings, a program must be designed to disseminate them and to enable testing institutions to use them at a relatively low cost. The results of careful field testing should be used to determine the future development of protocol materials. However, it is imperative that the personnel which will test them be trained to use protocols in the most promising ways possible. Ill-conceived and poorly funded testing programs could result in the death of an idea which is potentially quite effective.

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[43] Smith, op. cit., p. 42.

[44] Ibid, p. 53.

[45] Donald E. Orlosky, "Protocol Materials in Teacher Preparation" (Tampa: University of South Florida, 1972), p. 3. (Mimeographed.)

The Training Component of Teacher Education

The theoretical component of teacher education is designed to help the prospective teacher to identify and understand the major variables and skills which comprise the teaching process and to gain a conceptual framework for analyzing his own behavior and that of his students. While the theoretical component is designed primarily to help the prospective teacher understand the teaching process, the training component is designed to help the student acquire the skills which are needed to perform the acts which he has studied and analyzed.

Most teacher education programs today provide very little training in the skills of teaching.[46] In methods courses professors "talk about teaching" but rarely put students in situations in which they are given an opportunity to perform the acts of teaching or systematic feedback on their performance. This gap between theory and training in teacher education must be removed. It is imperative that prospective teachers master theory which will enable them to make intelligent instructional decisions and interpret classroom behavior. It is equally important, however, that they master the skills of teaching; such skills cannot be mastered simply by talking about and analyzing them. A person can master a skill only by practicing it and getting systematic feedback from professional experts.

The best place for students to be trained to teach is in the schools. However, a prospective teacher can benefit more from an internship in the school if he has been provided with preclinical experiences while taking the professional methods courses. Microteaching, discussed earlier in this essay, is a promising technique which the methods professor can use to help his students acquire teaching skills.

After a preclinic experience, the trainee should begin a full-time internship in a school or a school system which should last for a minimum of one school year. Each internship should ideally spend time in schools in different kinds of communities, including a suburban school, an inner-city school, an outer-area school in the city, and a rural school. We recommend that the intern receive training in as many different types of schools as is practical and possible.

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[46] Smith, op. cit., p. 69.

Although the university should provide technical assistance, the public school should assume the major responsibility for training the intern. Each intern will work with a master teacher (or teachers) identified by the training school. The primary role of the university will be to assist the training school in identifying master teachers and providing them training. Training of the master teachers will be necessary to assure that there is continuity in the intern's preclinic experience and internship, and to help the master teachers keep up with the latest developments in educational theory and research.

The major problem of implementing this kind of training program will be the identification and training of a sufficient number of master teachers and then freeing the master teacher so that he will have the time to adequately train the intern. A master teacher could work with about five interns. He should have some teaching responsibilities but they should be minimal. If he loses touch with the real world of the classroom, his effectiveness will be reduced considerably. Our proposal is based upon the assumption that teachers should be trained by other classroom teachers. Thus, if a master teacher has no teaching responsibilities, he will not meet what we feel is a major criterion for a trainer of teachers.

Pilot programs should be implemented and funded to identify and train master teachers. The primary problem will be one of identification, but preliminary and continuing training will be necessary to assure that the experience which the master teacher plans for the trainee will be highly related to the trainee's preclinical experience. Periodic seminars for the master teacher, the trainees and the university personnel should be established so that these groups can establish and maintain effective dialogue. University people should also design and implement, with the cooperation of the master teachers, training programs for the trainers of the interns. Both the seminars and the training programs for the master teachers should take place in the public schools.

Public schools will need funding from private and public agencies to provide the master teacher with the free time which he will need to work with the interns. The dire financial state of the public school is treated elsewhere in this document. The program which we are proposing will never get implemented on an experimental basis unless it receives massive funding over a long period of time. This training plan should be tried only in school districts which have the resources to implement it as proposed. It should be tried for a period of at least eight to ten years. Evaluation which takes place prior to this time should be done only to help the implementers of the program to make changes which will facilitate its operation (formative evaluation). Premature summative evaluation of the proposed program should be avoided.

It is not within the scope of this document to deal in detail with specific skills which the intern should master during his training program in the schools. Earlier in our discussion, we suggested some types of skills which may be included in a preclinic experience. These kinds of skills should be further developed during the internship. We see the internship as an extension of the preclinic experience. While we will not further delineate the specific skills which should comprise the internship program, we will suggest some general guidelines for structuring an internship experience.

The specific skills which the master teacher wishes the trainee to acquire should be delineated as clearly as possible in performance terms before instruction begins.[47] The trainee should know exactly what skills he will be required to master before he can become a practicing teacher. The trainee should be required to demonstrate his mastery of these skills in a classroom setting before he can successfully complete the internship. The levels of skills mastery and the conditions under which the intern will be required to demonstrate mastery should also be made explicit prior to instruction. The intern should not be required to attain certain grades or to complete his internship within a specified period of time. He should be held accountable only for mastering the skills which have been identified and should be given as much time as necessary for him to do so. As much as possible the internship experience should be individualized; an intern who needs special help in mastering a specific skill should be able to get it. Learning modules are a series of activities designed to help the trainee acquire specific teaching skills.[48] These are being developed in some of the experimental teacher education programs, such as those at the University of Washington[49] and the University of Houston, and are a promising tool which can help a trainer to make his instruction more personalized.

Structuring an internship program along the guidelines which we have suggested will be a demanding task. It will be difficult to specify in performance terms every skill which an intern should master and even more difficult to formulate valid criteria for determining when he has successfully mastered them. Elam notes some of the difficulties which will plague any performance-based teacher-training program: "There is a danger that competencies that are easy to describe and evaluate will dominate performance-based teacher education, hence a special effort will be needed to broaden the concept and to emphasize more divergent, creative, and personal experiences. Also, there are important political and management problems."[50] The designers of a competency-based teacher-training program will have to think hard about these questions. The difficulties which this approach to teacher education poses should not force us to abandon it. It is always difficult to create and to manage something that is worthwhile.

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[47] This discussion is based on ideas contained in Stanley Elam, A Resume of Performance-Based Teacher Education: What is the State of the Art? (Washington, D.C.: AACTE, 1972).

[48] W. Robert Houston et al., Developing Learning Modules (Houston: University of Houston, 1971).

[49] College of Education Faculty, A Mini-Report on Performance-Based Teacher Education (Seattle: University of Washington, 1972).

Performance-based training programs, like all of the suggestions which we have made in this essay, should be rigorously tested in pilot programs and situations. No matter how appealing it appears, no idea should be massively implemented until it has been tested and proven successful. The ultimate measure of whether anything works in education is whether it results in higher student achievement. We should implement testing designs to determine whether teachers who are trained in the kind of program we recommend are better teachers than students trained in traditional programs. The only way to get this kind of information is to measure the achievements of students who have been taught by teachers trained in both types of programs. It will take longitudinal studies and serious effort to do this kind of evaluation.

The teacher training program which we have proposed is school-based rather than university-based. While the public school would assume basic responsibility for the training of teachers, the university would serve as a supportive agency. It would provide technical services, training for teacher trainers (master teachers), and would conduct basic and applied research on instruction which would be used to improve the quality of classroom teaching. The university would focus on the formulation of theories of instruction and the testing of these theories. The university would also provide the prospective teacher with the theoretical frameworks he will need to intelligently interpret student behavior and to analyze the teaching process. The preclinic experience would be centered in the university. The university, because of its human and other resources, would also design and implement plans to evaluate various pilot programs in teacher education. We believe that the type of program which we have tried to describe would not take the university out of the business of teacher education. It would assign to it a role which it has the resources to successfully attain. In other words, the roles that we have delineated for both the university and the public schools are the roles which they are best equipped to fulfill.

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[50] Elam, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

Many of the criticisms which have been made about teacher education result from the fact that the public expects the university to do more than it is capable of doing. The university is partly responsible for such high public expectations; it has promised to do much more than it has the resources and ability to do. The university should serve primarily to create and test knowledge. Other institutions, such as the public schools, must assume a larger responsibility for the training of people to use and apply this knowledge to solve societal problems. To the extent that the university becomes involved in activities which are removed from basic and applied research, it will become less effective in performing its historic mission.

Chapter 8

REFORM AND THE CULTURE OF THE SCHOOL

by

William Drummond
University of Florida

Social scientists define "culture" as learned behavior and results of behavior shared and transmitted by people in a society. Such a definition includes nonmaterial ideas, thoughts, feelings, actions and beliefs as well as material products such as tools, clothes, houses, etc. The term "society" is defined as a localized population which persists over time in order to accomplish certain ends.[1]

Obviously schools are an instrument of society: they transmit the culture of the society. But schools also may be conceived and studied as small societies in themselves. As small societies, schools develop subcultures of their own selecting--consciously and unconsciously--elements of the culture of the larger society and also creating through experience cultural objects, norms, traditions, rituals, etc., unique unto themselves.[2]

The central thesis of this paper is that the culture of the school is a powerful influence on the performance achievement of children and that the school's culture is manipulatable by those who have vested power and authority over schools.

This essay will attempt to answer eight questions:

(1) What is known about the culture of the school in relation to reform?

(2) How do norms and rituals get started in a school?

(3) What do norms and rituals do for those who work in a school?

(4) When, under what conditions, for what purposes should social symbols, norms and rituals be established?

(5) Can school norms and rituals be changed?

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[1] George F. Kneller, Educational Anthropology: An Introduction (New York: Wiley, 1965), p. 4.

[2] Jules Henry, "A Cross-cultural Outline of Education," Current Anthropology, Vol. I, No. 4 (July 1960), pps. 267-305.

(6) Must new (different) school norms and rituals be consistent with or be supported by out-of-school patrons and citizens?

(7) What conditions favor the adoption of new norms and rituals?

(8) Assuming that social norms and rituals can be changed, what suggestions should be advanced for trial in pilot projects?

Introduction

Culture is mediative. Although man may on occasion have direct, sensual experience with nature in sudden and momentarily uncomprehended ways (such as stepping outside one's airconditioned room in the middle of the night and being slapped in the face by a palm frond), in most cases man does not respond directly to the external world nor does the external world seem to respond to man. Whatever interaction that occurs between man and nature is mediated and interpreted by culture. The character of almost all individual responses has been learned subconsciously or during earlier unremembered experiences resulting in some personal and individual organization called "personality," the general nature of such personality being widely shared by others in his family, tribe, society or nation.

Culture is pervasive. Culture is all man has to work with in studying himself. As a consequence, this limitation makes it difficult for man to be aware of perhaps the most pervasive aspects of his life. As Willard Waller stated it, "If social scientists were fish, the last thing they would discover would be water." Because the tools and language that man uses to study himself are culturally biased, man must eventually resign himself to the realization that what he knows or can know about himself is only a set of approximations--approximations which come out of an unknowable past and which inevitably shape an unknowable future. Man's culture comes from his collective experience, experience over thousands of years, and is coded into symbols, facial expressions, tools, institutions, roles, rituals, clothes, houses, aspirations, values. Perception and meaning are culturally determined--individual man and the groups with which he identifies make sense out of sensations by using culture.

To suggest that schools can be reformed by changing the culture of the school--the basic thesis of this essay--seems obvious. Using the word "culture" in its broadest sense, any idea for reforming the school is associated with cultural change. Most students of educational sociology, cultural anthropology, and social psychology agree that the school has a subculture of its own. Recognition of the existence of a separate school culture, however, has not led to the kind of scientific study of the school undertaken by Willard Waller in 1932. In the subsequent years much has been written about organizational change, about school subgroups and their interests and aspirations, about group norms, especially in colleges and universities, but little has been written about the particular symbols present in schools and their meaning, little about social norms in schools and their development and practically nothing about school rituals and ceremonies.

Scholars in anthropology and psychology, along with psychoanalysts and psychiatrists, seem to agree that the meanings attached to symbols, especially dominant ritual symbols, are keystones to personal meaning and adjustment: they serve as organizing foci for group life. The psychoanalytic scholars examine individual interpretation of symbols to determine and classify aberrant psychological "states," usually by trying to find out how an individual learned his particular set of symbolic meanings in his early childhood. On the other hand, the anthropological scholars count and classify instances when individuals behave in response to symbols. Symbols shared in a society which engenders emotion and in which symbols apparently are the center of a number of meanings and actions, are classified as dominant symbols. These are studied in cultures (especially preliterate ones) to develop understanding or meaning from very diverse and, on occasion, conflicting data.

Ritual symbols have four main attributes: (1) the condensation of many meanings into a single form, (2) economy of reference, (3) predominance of emotional or orectic quality, and (4) associational linkages with regions of the unconscious.[3]

Turner adds that ritual symbols are referential and condensational at the same time but that their essential quality "consists in their juxtaposition of the grossly physical and the structurally normative, or the organic and the social." Turner continues, "Durkheim was fascinated by the problem of why many social norms and imperatives were felt to be at the same time 'obligatory' and 'desirable.' Ritual, scholars are coming to see, is precisely a mechanism that periodically converts the obligatory into the desirable. The irksomeness of moral constraint is transformed into the love of virtue."[4]

It is interesting to note that, although the school's primary problem seems to be that of getting students and teachers to want to do what they should do in relation to the goals of the school (the substitution of longer range goals for immediate sensory satisfactions), there are no reported attempts by school authorities or research scholars to try to establish on a pilot basis rituals in schools which undergird or reinforce behavior consonant with school goals.

Whether one considers the overall goals of schooling (reviewed elsewhere) or the goals of the reform effort described in these essays

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[3] Edward Sapir, "Symbolism," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. XIV (New York: Macmillan, 1937), p. 493.

[4] Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 29-30.

(minimal achievement in the basic human relations and citizenship skills: establishment of appropriate learning environment; evidence of improved self-esteem; and evidence of the sharing of institutional rewards), what can be said about the subcultures now present in schools with respect to the achievement of these goals? What generalizations seem warranted from a review of recent literature?

(1) Interests and aspirations of adolescents are in a different direction and of a different order from the stated goals of the school.[5,6,7,8,9]

(2) The social life and the structure of the school work against the avowed purposes of the school.[10,11,12]

(3) The psychological needs of students are not being met in schools either through student participation in the planned curriculum or the "hidden" unplanned curriculum. Since the meeting of psychological needs is prerequisite to individual participation, it follows that schools are not now teaching or reinforcing democratic values.[13]

(4) Schools in the United States, instead of deliberately attempting to use student subcultures in ways that will improve learning, have largely chosen to ignore or fight

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[5] James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press, 1961).

[6] C. W. Gordon, The Social System of the High School (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957).

[7] Jean Dresden Grambs, Schools, Scholars and Society (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall 1965).

[8] David Mallery, High School Students Speak Out (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

[9] Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching (New York: Wiley, 1932), pp. 6-11.

[10] Philip W. Jackson, Life in Classrooms (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968).

[11] Davis W. Johnson, The Social Psychology of Education (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 216.

[12] Elizabeth Leonie Simpson, Democracy's Stepchildren (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971).

[13] Ibid.

peer-group interpersonal forces. Consequently, the subcultures that eventually develop may adhere to norms that hinder the academic effort.[14]

(5) The most dramatic gains which resulted from desegregation occurred when children from poorer schools were placed in schools where higher norms of pupil achievement were expected.[15]

Given the accuracy of these assertions there are a number of questions which need to be answered if the culture of the school (especially the norms, traditions, and rituals of that culture) is to be considered as variable for educational reform.

What is Known About the Culture of the School?

Most studies of the culture of the school draw heavily upon the ambitious and monumental work of Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching. In rereading Waller's book one is taken by the currency and freshness of his observations, now over forty years old, and the validity of his analyses as applied to modern schools. Apparently the character of the public schools has not changed much during the intervening years.

Waller indicated that the school was a social system unlike any other, having the following characteristics: (1) a definite population, (2) a clearly defined political structure arising from the social interaction of the school, (3) a nexus of a complex set of social relationships, (4) a we-feeling or in-group identification, and (5) a culture of its own.[16] Waller indicated that the "institutional" character of the school included a formal organization based upon the authority principle (what Bidwell refers to as a bureaucratic organization) and a small society--the small society divided into two subsocieties, a society of teachers and a society of students.[17]

The authority principle dominates schooling "with power theoretically vested in the school superintendent and radiating from him down to the lowest substitute teacher in the system."[18] The teacher, using this authority, attempts to (1) manipulate and control time, materials, facilities, activities to form and maintain student attention (motivation) to selected learning tasks, and (2) control and discipline classroom groups to maintain an orderly environment "suitable" for schooling.

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[14] Johnson, op. cit.

[15] James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

[16] Waller, op. cit.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

The subsociety of teachers in a school is a fairly closeknit collegial group which is recognized as a distinct group both in and out of the school. The teachers become, politically, an oligarchy which is able to thwart decisions made by administrators and to create and use a variety of mechanisms to counteract the political power of students.

The students of a school are recruited into a given student membership status as a result of their place of residence and are placed automatically in groups by age. Age-grading pervades the system and is supported in subtle ways by teachers, students, and the outside community. Informal age-graded cliques, clubs, gangs, etc., characterize secondary schools. In time a distinctive subculture is created in the school which is passed on to new groups as they enter--older, "wiser" students "laying it on" the neophytes who accept indoctrination because they know they will have their turn. Student culture, as mentioned earlier, is often contrary to the code of conduct espoused by the adults in the school; student culture often seems designed to undermine the work of teachers and the influence of parents and interested citizens.

As Bidwell[19] has indicated, the work of the school is confused because of the dilemmas facing both teachers and students. The teacher's dilemma is a conflict between being a warm, friendly person and being a strict disciplinarian. In order to maintain student attention and to create an appropriate climate for learning, the teacher has to establish affectional bonds between himself and his students. In other words, he must make inroads into the world of students. On the other hand, the teacher must enforce the rules, the regulations, and expectations of the bureaucracy. He must maintain his position or "office" in the organizational structure of the school. The student faces a somewhat similar but opposite dilemma. The student may be interested in the subject being taught; he personally may like a teacher; but if he volunteers or is persuaded to do what the teacher wants, he risks expulsion from his preferred social clique or club. He has to be careful to be "cool" about his relationships with the adults in the school.

This confrontation of subsocieties and subcultures borders upon open warfare in some urban high schools. Student interests and aspirations usually become focused on extracurricular events, athletics, dances, beauty contests and music festivals over which students have some control. In-school interests of teachers become focused on the academic achievement of students and/or the control of student in-class behavior.

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[19] Charles E. Bidwell, "The School as a Formal Organization, "J. G. March (Ed.), Handbook of Organizations (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 991.

The extracurricular aspects of secondary schooling serve several purposes which ameliorate the teacher and student dilemmas mentioned above: (1) student participation in the extracurricular affairs, especially athletics, requires a certain grade-point average; (2) teachers control grade-point averages and thereby have leverage over student leaders because most student leaders are also athletes; (3) student leader-athletes, especially those who do well academically, receive recognition, praise, and reward both in and out of school; (4) thus through the reward system student leaders are coerced into accepting and supporting the bureaucratic aspects of the school, and (5) insecure teachers and recognized athletes play subtle games with one another with respect to the athlete's achievement in the academic program.[20]

In summary, research on the culture of the school has identified dilemmas for both teachers and students. The teacher dilemma might be characterized by, "I can't motivate students because I have to spend all my time disciplining them"; the student dilemma by "I won't volunteer to do anything or say anything. I don't want to be seen as a fink." These two dilemmas identified by Waller and reinforced by more recent research permeate life in the high school and, to a greater or lesser degree, affect the junior high school.[21,22] There is evidence that open conflict as a result of dissonance between faculty and students is not as big a problem in elementary schools, probably because (1) the characteristically longer period of time with the same students provides more opportunity for the teacher to manipulate student interactions and to become involved in affective relationships with them, and (2) the students are little people, unable to compete with the teacher physically, intellectually or organizationally.

Bidwell's point from his review of research is worth noting: the authority principle of the school, from patrons and school board to the classroom, fosters "bureaucratization" (formalization of roles, statuses, offices), while pupil-teacher affective interaction fosters "debureaucratization."

> It should also be noted that insofar as student-teacher interaction is concerned, debureaucratization also is deprofessionalization, for the interaction ceases to follow the classic professional-client pattern. Yet the occupational norms and colleague relations of teachers appear to be more consistent with deprofessional than professional performance. If so, one might expect the more professionally oriented

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[20] Gordon, op. cit.

[21] Coleman, The Adolescent Society, op. cit.

[22] Gordon, op. cit.

> teachers to be less "professional" in their classroom actions, that is, to diverge from the classic pattern because of their bonds with the colleague group.[23]

In other words, the social norms of the teachers as a subsociety are inconsistent with "professional performance as well as with structural bureaucratic behavior."

How Do Norms and Rituals Get Started in a School?

Because the school is an institution established under the authority principle, most norms and rituals are established by the persons who have the authority, usually the principal and the teachers, but also the bus driver, the janitor and the cafeteria workers during times and places when authority is given to them. Most norms and rituals are associated with the "work" of the school, such "work" being defined fairly universally in the out-of-school culture. It is interesting to note how similar the structure or form of the school is from culture to culture. The room or place where teaching is to occur designates a place for the teacher (the front) and regularized places for pupils designed so that pupils and teacher can see one another.

It is well known by experienced teachers and students that much of the first 2 or 3 weeks of the school year are devoted to establishing classroom norms; students finding the limits of approved behavior, teachers trying to show consistency in their responses to the spectrum of pupil behavior. Classroom norms from the teacher's viewpoint usually are associated with management, for example, getting students to do what the teacher wants them to do. As a consequence, the more obvious norms deal with taking up school (separating school from nonschool), scheduling and assigning tasks, passing along organizational messages, sharing or establishing common expectations, stopping or starting activities, focusing and redirecting attention, rewarding, and punishing.

In most American schools identification is usually directed to the total school rather than with the individual teacher or classroom. Greater identification with the teacher occurs in the early grades. People ask where the student is going to school before they ask with whom he is studying. As a consequence, many symbols are used to maintain school identification: colors, songs, slogans, mascots, trophies, special days, etc. Most of these symbols are created consciously under the direction of the first principal of the school and sanctioned by the local board of education.

The establishment of appropriate school norms and the maintenance of rituals is an unwritten responsibility of the principal. New teachers in a school and teachers who are perceived to "stretch" the approved bounds of appropriate norms are given more supervision. The typical school principal focuses much of his attention on keeping the school orderly and quiet and free from open conflict. Because students, teachers, and parents enjoy breaks from the usual pattern of work, a variety of all-school events occurs which are controlled and scheduled by the principal: assemblies, plays, musical events, awards ceremonies, special dress-up days, pre-holiday ceremonies, and programs. Teachers in elementary schools devote considerable class time to the celebration of holidays and culturally recognized events. The general nature or the extent of such celebrations is monitored by the principal.

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[23] Bidwell, op. cit.

The celebration of a number of special events is forced upon the principal and the teachers by norms and rituals developed in the student population or in the community. As children grow older they become more effective in urging special events on the school. These events may become institutionalized and move into the extracurricular program of the school--a means of legitimatizing nonacademic interests and bringing them under the authority and surveillance of the school. Because of student and citizen interest in these extracurricular events and because such events serve the purposes of various subgroups in the school or community, some extracurricular activities have become major events in the life of the school. Over time they have been fashioned into cultural complexes and rituals, e.g., the homecoming football game and the associated dance, parties, decorations, etc.[24]

When new schools are started, especially new types of schools, the principal and the planning staff usually consider the kinds of symbols, norms and rituals that would be appropriate for the new school. On rare occasions do those who plan new schools consider the meaning of norms and rituals in relation to school goals. Symbols, norms, and rituals usually are selected from traditional alternatives--alternatives which are different from other schools, but not different from the cultural configuration of school or schooling. New-type schools (e.g., Adams High School, Portland, Oregon) usually are created to overcome or reduce some of the problems or circumstances which inhibit academic achievement and/or wholesome human relationships, such as racism, poverty impairment, boredom, etc. These new-type schools have created new social norms and in some cases, new rituals. The norms and rituals which have been created, however, have emerged or grown naturally rather than having been rationally created and installed. For example, in attempting to improve adult-student communication and to make the school seem freer to adolescents in Adams High School, an unintentional norm developed that students could get up and walk out of any class or assembly which they felt was irrelevant to them. "Walking out," an insult in most social circumstances, took on a different meaning to both teachers and students: Walking out was not necessarily a reflection on the speaker as long as someone remained and was listening.

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[24] Coleman, The Adolescent Society, op. cit.

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Summary: The symbols, norms, traditions, and rituals of a school (1) are borrowed by those in authority from the alternatives available as defined by the cultural expectations of what schools should be like, or (2) develop as principals, teachers, students, citizens interact and carry on the work of the school. Rarely do people who plan or conduct schools attempt to examine or create traditions or rituals to achieve school purposes or goals.

What do Norms and Rituals do for Those who Work in the School? For Those Outside?

Norms, traditions, and rituals are important to group life. They operate for groups in much the same way that habit does for the individual. Social norms, traditions, and rituals provide means for carrying on social intercourse within and among groups without thinking and without having to decide what to do or how to do it as events occur. Attention apparently is required for intentional learning to occur and for people to resolve perplexing problems or to adjust to new events. Norms, traditions, and rituals allow group attention to be focused on the resolving of certain aspects of problems while holding "constant" the social behavior required for rationality and order.

Coleman's research has made it clear that the social system of adolescents today is tied to the culture of the high school, its norms, traditions, and rituals.[25] This social system dominated the life of the adolescent, controlling the amount of energy or effort expended and influencing the student's psychological well-being; this control is exercised through the rewards and punishments provided through social status in the school-based adolescent society. Social adequacy and feelings of personal self-worth are the rewards given by social status. The student society and its subculture defines who will be rewarded and punished as well as the range of factors or attributes worthy of reward or punishment, for example, athletics, popularity with boys, good looks.

Coleman has indicated that the symbols associated with extracurricular events were widely supported and given importance by parents and citizens not associated with the school.[26] He reported that in many of the families studied, conversations between parents and their high school offspring were often limited to discussions of extracurricular events, such as father-son communication about athletics and mother-daughter talks about dating.

It is apparent that the school provides a stage and the setting for out-of-family adolescent socialization and indeed the development of independence from the family. The subgroups of the school serve as "holding" societies, inducting new members into their groups and providing members with identification and psychological space in subcultures different from parents and teachers.

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

As in primitive cultures, the symbols, social norms, and rituals in school subcultures serve both as social control mechanisms and as the foci for meaningful and "important" behavior. For example, junior high school students hurry to school so that they can "cruise" the halls before first period. Minority students spend hours combing and fixing their hair so that the "Afro" is just right. Preadolescents listen carefully to the "top 20 tunes," memorizing countless lyrics so that they can sing along or recite the words whenever the occasion demands. These and many other complex learnings, which can be collectively classified as adolescent tribal behavior, are required of students by the subcultures of the school, not by the teachers or by parents.

In a review of the literature it has been difficult to establish cause and effect relationships among (1) school symbols and norms, (2) adolescent subcultures and their symbols and norms, and (3) adult, out-of-school symbols and norms. They seem to be related but the research literature is not clear. Earlier studies focused on the concept of social class and attempted to relate differences in social class with characteristics of behavior and personality of children and youth in and out of school.[27,28,29,30,31] More recent analyses have given attention to the apparent effects of adolescent subcultures on the adult society and the changing of "American character."[32,33,34,35]

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Allison Davis, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

[29] Robert J. Havighurst and Daniel U. Levine, Education in Metropolitan Areas (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971).

[30] Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, Adolescent Character and Personality (New York: Wiley, 1949).

[31] W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

[32] H. Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

[33] Margaret Mead, Culture and Commitment (New York: Natural History Press, 1970).

[34] Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America (New York: Random House, 1970).

[35] Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Random House, 1970).

It is clear that school-based adolescent subcultures have tremendous impact on the behavior of adolescents; it is not clear how much of this impact comes from the symbols, norms, traditions of the school. It is apparent that adult norms, symbols, etc., of the larger society have an impact on the norms, symbols, and rituals which are established in schools. It is not apparent how much or how fast symbols, norms, traditions, or rituals can be changed in a school once such social mechanisms have been established.

Sarason has suggested that those who wish to change or reform the school should take cognizance of and describe the programmatic and behavioral regularities which occur there--especially the regularities which punctuate the interactions between teachers and students--in order to understand the culture of the school.[36] After analyzing a number of reform efforts, he noted that most attempts at reform have not dealt with the institutional (cultural) regularities of the school. He bemoaned the fact that there was so little literature describing the culture of the school and reasserted the difficulty social scientists have had "seeing" the culture of the school so that it could be described.

"Any attempt to introduce an important change in the school culture requires changing existing regularities to produce new intended outcomes. In practice, the regularities tend not to be changed and the intended outcome, therefore, cannot occur; that is, the more things change the more they remain the same."[37] Pursuing Sarason's logic, whenever any reform is to be introduced, the reform should be examined in relation to changes in the regularities of behavior found in the subsocieties of the school and the initial purpose of the reform movement.

Summary: The symbols, norms, traditions, and rituals of a society, whether a school society or not, have important effects upon members of the society. Members learn how to behave, how to interpret the behavior of others, and how to secure rewards and recognition through the interpretation of these shared cultural objects and mechanisms. Subsocieties created in the school pass on subcultural symbols, norms, and traditions which apparently influence in important ways the behavior of both students and teachers.

When, Under What Circumstances and/or for What Purposes Should Norms, Traditions, and Rituals be Created or Established?

Norms, traditions, and rituals will be established in social organizations which persist. Their appearance and existence seem to be necessary for groups to continue in time. The thesis posited here is that these kinds of social or cultural mechanisms can be created (should be created) to support or undergird the purposes of the school. The persistence of norms and rituals is partially dependent upon whether or not they serve to meet the socio-psychological needs of those who engage in them. For example, assume that a purpose of a school is to cause children to read and to talk about what they have read in ways which provide evidence that they understood what they have read. The task of adults who control the school is to create norms, traditions and rituals in the various school subcultures which make "doing" reading psychologically attractive and socially important to the members of groups who share the school culture.

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[36] Seymour B. Sarason, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971), p. 86.

[37] Ibid.

The following seem to be appropriate purposes for creating premeditated norms, traditions, and rituals:

1. To support or undergird the stated purposes of the school or school system.
2. To reinforce the values of the larger society.
3. To create and support a good psychological climate for learning.
4. To provide opportunities for students to learn and practice skills in moving into new groups, becoming quickly involved in and committed to group responsibilities.
5. To establish organizational means for communication among various subgroups, for groups to confront one another, for groups to act out conflict in nondestructive ways.
6. To provide means for students to share experiences, especially aesthetic experiences.
7. To establish means for individual feedback and evaluation.
8. To establish means for institutional feedback and evaluation.
9. To provide means for the periodic review of the meaning of symbols, norms, traditions, and rituals; to make new interpretations in meaning; and to reaffirm and reinforce appropriate meaning.

It should be noted again that those symbols, norms and rituals, which combine several purposes together, are repeated frequently and support one or more myths generally accepted by the larger society, will be the powerful ones.

New or different social symbols, norms, or rituals are most easily introduced or accepted when schools are getting started for the first time--when local norms have not yet been established. They also may be introduced when a need for change has been accepted by the power figures in a school in response to outside pressures. As Lewin noted years ago, organizational change normally requires some "unfreezing" of the perceptions of organizational members to the circumstances facing them.[38] Unfreezing can be intentionally created or it can occur in response to normal outside pressures. It typically occurs, however, during high and low points in the life of an organization: the beginning, the realization of an achievement, an organizational crisis, new management, etc.

Summary: New symbols, norms and rituals can be introduced at various times in the life of a school. The easiest time is when a school is being newly opened. Some type of organizational readiness for change is usually necessary; this readiness or "unfreezing" can be induced. There are appropriate purposes for manipulating the norms and rituals in a school or school system, the primary one being the achievement of the stated goals of schooling.

Can School Social Symbols, Norms, Traditions, and Rituals be Changed?

The argument presented here supports an affirmative answer to the above question. As noted earlier, schools are dominated by the authority principle. It is argued that those who have authority and power in schools--the principal, the teachers, and key student leaders--can use their power to change symbols, norms, traditions and rituals. The first task in a strategy for change is, therefore, to change the way leaders view schools and how they function in them. After leaders are motivated to change social conventions in their school, such change becomes achievable. Regretfully, justification for these assertions must be inferred from research which has been done in non-school enterprises. In extensive studies of achievement motivation, McClelland and Winter report that they have been able to change the achievement motivations of adults in a variety of cultural settings.[39] Through inference from their achievement studies it would seem that a planned program to change the motivation of school leaders with respect to school symbols, norms, traditions, and rituals would include means for dealing with the following:

1. Establishing a change syndrome in the leaders, including:
    a. establishing a psychological "set" for change through fantasy--imagining what the school would be like if new symbols, norms, rituals were to be tried.
    b. considering moderate goals for change--goals which could be accomplished within a year--before the present school population changes.

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[38] Kurt Lewin. Field Theory in Social Science. (New York: Harper, 1951).

[39] David C. McClelland and David G. Winter. Motivating Economic Achievement (New York: The Free Press, 1969), pp. 39-92.

   c. studying cases of schools which have tried out new social conventions to determine what is involved in piloting such changes.

2. Establishing means for leaders to study themselves with respect to:

   a. the relevance of proposed changes to the immediate welfare of individual leaders.

   b. the relationship between proposed changes and the life goals (personal philosophical orientation) of individual leaders.

   c. the relationships between proposed changes and the prevailing cultural values in the community.

3. Establishing goals for changing the symbols, norms, traditions, and rituals in the school, including:

   a. a rationale justifying the selection of the goals.

   b. a work plan for the achievement of each goal.

   c. establishing means for recording and reporting progress toward the achievement of goals.

4. Establishing interpersonal supports among the leaders including:

   a. warm acceptance of each individual leader as a unique person and avoidance of telling him what to do or the choices he should make.

   b. developing in-group feeling--a group apart from other school groups--by going through a series of experiences together; by meeting and working in retreat settings.

   c. developing and maintaining reference groups among leaders--groups which share sensitively in the successes and failures of each member's life and work.

Using the above format, McClelland and Winter reported that business leaders trained by them demonstrated change in their leadership behavior in their subsequent business experience; that the organizations and enterprises with which trainees were affiliated showed increased production and profit.[40] In other words, the training of leaders toward achievement motivation resulted in increased production and organizational output.

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[40] Ibid.

The McClelland and Winter format provides a means for studying and consciously adopting new or different symbols, norms, or rituals in a school. Their format does establish, however, new sets of norms and social arrangements among the leaders of the school, arrangements which need to be examined, shared, and agreed upon by participants before they undergo the change process. Training programs which have been established using this format apparently have been very effective. Such effectiveness demonstrates the potential power of introducing a new set of norms and symbols into leadership behavior through training. To avoid any semblance of "brainwashing" it becomes important that participants be given a full disclosure of training plans and the option to withdraw from further training whenever the press of personal change seems too uncomfortable.

By bringing the examination of school symbols, norms, traditions, and rituals to the conscious level, reasons for their existence in a social system become more obvious. Discrepancies between the official meaning of symbols or customs, usually found in faculty or student handbooks or provided orally at orientation exercises, and the real meaning of symbols or customs become apparent. Understanding the meaning of symbols and ceremonies and the sharing of the meaning through participation (personal experience) gives beauty and importance to them. For example, the marriage ceremony takes on more beauty and personal meaning to individuals contemplating marriage as they learn the meaning of the traditional symbols connected therewith. Modern couples who write their own ceremonies, select new and old symbols and order events as they wish them to be, find more richness of meaning. They feel their commitments to one another are more authentic because they authored the ceremonies.

It does seem appropriate to suggest that leaders of a school in a democratic society might bring the study of school symbols, norms, traditions, and rituals to the consciousness of those persons who have a stake in what goes on in a particular school. By doing so there can be broad sharing in the creation, development or reinforcement of agreed-upon symbolic behavior. The periodic rewriting or redrafting of school symbols keeps their meaning fresh and educates a new generation of students into the task of creating part of their symbolic but nonrational world using rational means.

Summary: Leaders in nonschool social organization are able to change their behavior through training. Change in leadership behavior can result in improved organization effectiveness (output measures). It has been inferred that the training of school leaders, the principal, teacher leaders, and student leaders, can result in changing school symbols, norms, traditions, and rituals. Broad participation in the review of the meaning of established symbols, norms, or rituals, as well as in the creation of new symbols and meanings, is desirable in a democratic society.

Must New (Different) School Norms and Rituals be Consistent with or be Supported by Out-of-School Patrons and Citizens?

In a period of rapid social change, it is difficult for an organizational leader to participate in or condone the introduction of new social norms and rituals. It is the same with the school principal. The faster the social change, the greater the chance of disparity between what is considered appropriate social behavior by adults in the larger community and the student in the school. The effects of such disparity are enlarged by the tenuous nature of social control in the school, the fear of student revolt or violence and the precarious nature of the principal's role in the school bureaucracy. For these reasons, if no other, traditional school principals typically avoid the examination of norms and rituals and anything else that might upset the precarious balance of forces operating on the school at any particular time. For his own survival, the principal seems to be forced to get what he considers to be acceptable norms down in writing in student or faculty handbooks so that he may justify later decisions or actions on the basis of what has been written; he tries to avoid becoming personally involved in the subcultures of his building. Fairness (treating all alike) is more important to the maintenance of order than is reasonableness or righteousness.

From a review of the limited research literature, it appears that leaders desiring to establish new norms, traditions, and rituals in public schools will have difficulty doing so without the support and/or understanding of the school's patrons.[41] Admittedly there are norms in schools about which patrons are not particularly interested because they neither violate community norms nor stretch too far the parental notions of what schooling should be like. Such norms are usually established without heat or fervor by school board, principals, teachers, and student body leaders. The range of norms which can be manipulated without community support or involvement may be limited. Apparently increased trust between school leaders and community leaders expands the range of norms and vice versa. Research is needed concerning the limits and the kinds of norms and rituals which can be established in schools and the factors which must be present or absent if undue community opposition and pressure is to be avoided.

It would appear that if schools are not too large it may be possible to launch efforts to establish new norms and rituals in a school with all interested parties involved, the faculty and students as well as interested community patrons. This hypothesis too needs to be tested. The creation and establishment of new school-community festivals based upon modern rationally created folklore, celebrating the achievement of school goals seems possible, and may be an effective means for reform.

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[41] Bidwell, *op. cit.*

Summary: Although school norms may be somewhat different from those recommended by school patrons, the introduction of new norms and rituals requires community support and sanction. Patron approval of cultural change may be more easily obtained in small schools.

Assuming That Social Norms and Rituals Can Be Changed, What Kinds of Suggestions Might Be Considered for Pilot Projects Designed to Reform the School?

The pilot-project phase of school reform needs to focus public resources on the discovery of viable means of equalizing educational opportunity. In general terms, equalization of opportunity ought to be judged in relation to criteria such as the following: (1) student achievement in language and computational skills, (2) student achievement in human relations and citizenship skills, (3) the provision and maintenance of a humane school environment, (4) evidence that each student is improving in self-esteem, and (5) evidence that each student shares in the institutional rewards of the school. Described below are ideas which might be considered in developing pilot projects designed to reform the school by deliberately changing the symbols, norms and rituals found there. The ideas presented are organized in relation to the five criteria listed above. These ideas, however, are not exhaustive; they merely illustrate the kinds of suggestions which seem promising as one looks for ways to reform the school:

1. Achievement in the student's use of basic skills (above age 10) might be fostered by changing the orientation of grading and reporting practices from the individual to a small group or team. By developing teams (primary reference groups), and providing individual achievement feedback to the team as well as to the individual, the team can become responsible for the individual's performance. It would become an obligation of members of a team to help all other members. Space and time for the team to work together would need to be provided. In addition, the teacher (or other adults in the school) would need to be skillful in helping students learn team skills in teaching "helping behavior" to students observing small group behavior, in providing feedback to individuals and groups as they try to achieve. The assessment of performance of the individual student and the evaluation of his progress toward the achievement of school objectives would need to be reported to the student's team. In addition, such reports from the teacher to the team would include suggestions for further individual and group work and an assessment of the team's total performance in relation to its own achievement profile. Teams would be able to request tutoring or other special help whenever they deemed outside help necessary.

2. Achievement in the basic skills might be enhanced by developing different feedback and helping mechanisms in and out of school. Using

the helping trio concept,[42] parents of primary children may be encouraged to talk about appropriate ways of encouraging (rewarding) children out of school. Upper-grade and secondary students could be organized into helping trios which persist 2 to 4 weeks. Feedback on achievement from the teacher would be followed by time and opportunities for helping trios to meet and work together. Improvement plans developed by individuals as a result of helping trio conversations should be honored as much as possible by the teacher. Teachers could encourage the use of tutors in self-improvement plans.

3. Achievement in human relations and citizenship skills might be promoted by the creation and establishment of a school confrontation ceremony. Such a ceremony might include the following:

   a. A petition signed by 10 percent of the student body or 50 percent of the teachers could initiate the ceremony. The petition would have to state a grievance or problem about which collective school discussion or action seems warranted.

   b. Within 5 days regular school would be stopped. Students and teachers would assemble in prearranged cross-age groups of eight at the beginning of the school day.

   c. Groups of eight would discuss the grievance or problem for 30 minutes, adjourn and move to the school auditorium.

   d. After assembling in the auditorium a short statement of the rules of the ceremony would be read. Following this, spokesmen concerned with the grievance or problem would be allowed to speak 30 minutes.

   e. Returning to their original meeting places, groups of eight would be given an hour to suggest three courses of action they would recommend for the school and place them in priority order.

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[42] The helping trio consists of three people who play interchangeable roles but whose roles are clearly defined during the times they meet together. One person is the helpee--the person being helped--who has the task of stating his problem or concern as clearly and openly as he can, including his feelings and emotions. The second person is the helper who has the responsibility of helping as best he can: listening, paraphrasing, clarifying the problem, accepting feeling, suggesting alternative. The third person is the observer who has the task of keeping a mental record of what is occurring between the helper and helpee, providing feedback to participants regarding the way they are playing their roles, keeping track of time, etc.

f. Two groups of eight would meet together to (1) share their recommendations, (2) consolidate them, (3) select four, (4) place the four recommendations in priority order, and (5) elect two persons to represent the consolidated group to the next phase of the confrontation.

g. Representatives of groups would meet in groups of eight (now representing 64 people) to (1) share recommendations, (2) consolidate recommendations, (3) select five, (4) place the five in priority order, and (5) elect two persons to represent the group of representatives to the next phase.

h. Representatives of representative groups would meet with the principal and representatives of the school board on the stage of the school auditorium. The persons on stage would discuss recommendations; change or alter recommendations if necessary; prioritize recommendations; propose a course of action to be carried forward during regular school operation.

i. Personnel on the stage would be polled to publicly agree to proposed action. If agreement is reached, action would be forthcoming and the meeting would continue until a compromise action plan is agreed upon. Public agreement would serve as a commitment by students, teachers, and principal to work for accomplishment of plans made.

j. Ceremony would close by singing a school song written to express both school unity and the power of public commitment.

4. Achievement of human relations and citizenship skills might be promoted by the development of classroom procedures for the resolution of conflict using adversary advocates. Each person in a disagreement would be asked to select a person to speak for him and his position in a public classroom forum. Adversaries and their advocates would be given the opportunity (approximately 30 minutes) to prepare their cases. A panel of judges would be selected by the remainder of the class to hear the presentation and to suggest an appropriate course of action. Advocates would be given five minutes each to present their cases and two minutes each in rebuttal. Adversaries would be expected to hear and abide by suggestions made by the judges.

Words announcing the opening of debate should be written to set the stage for reasonableness and decorum. An appropriate closing ceremony should be developed, too, which could include the shaking of hands of both the advocates and the adversaries. A school cheer could be written to mark the end of the procedure. (A symbol to the entire school that another conflict situation had been resolved.)

5. Based upon a definition or description of a humane school environment there are a number of social inventions which might be tried to help bring about such an environment:

a. Write a school credo which outlines in poetic form the elements of a humane environment. Have students write and produce an appropriate symbolic ceremony.

b. Organize an observer squad designed to visit classes periodically and report their findings with respect to the existence or nonexistence of humane environments to the teachers and the principal.

6. A more humane environment might be created if nonschool socioeconomic differences of students were minimized and cultural and ethnic differences maximized while they are in school. For example:

a. Except on special days all school personnel, principal, teachers, students might wear uniforms--uniforms that are inexpensive, simple, functional, attractive.

b. All in-school expenses might be furnished, using school or student body funds, for example, senior class rings purchased from student body funds.

c. Cultural expression days might be organized and carried out by teachers and students who come from different cultural or ethnic origins.

7. Improvement in self-esteem may be advanced by ceremonies or rituals which recognize and value individual and cultural differences. For example:

a. The singing of the black national anthem by black students followed by the singing of the (white) national anthem by white students, followed by the singing of America the Beautiful by all students.

b. In elementary grades, having signs of students' names printed on fiberboard and a place in the room where each student could hang his name at the beginning of each school day. Attention can be drawn to each child as he puts up his name for all to see. Attention also can be directed to those who are absent so that students can realize that they would have been missed had they not been present.

8. Improvement in self-esteem can be generated by changing the norms of adult-student relationships. For example:

a. Having teachers develop and practice a friendly but "professional" teacher-client relationships--an appropriate classroom manner.

b. Providing tutors so that each student can have adult attention and care on a regular basis.

9. The sharing of institutional rewards seems to be more easily accomplished in elementary schools because children are with the same teacher all day. The teacher consequently can mete out recognition and reward more equally. For example:

a. Each student's birthday can be recognized.

b. Each student can have his turn at being on the safety patrol or the clean-up squad, at being the classroom monitor.

c. Each student can participate in the Christmas pageant, school fair, parade, etc.

If secondary schools were smaller--small enough so that all students and teachers were known by all others--similar celebrations and routines could be established for older students.

10. Institutional rewards might be more easily shared if school schedules were different. For example:

a. Wednesdays were designated activity day so that all students could be involved in activities on or off the school campus at the same time.

b. Various all-school festivals were scheduled during the year (other than athletics), organized so many different interests and talents could be recognized at the same time, for example, arts and crafts, music, dancing, drag-racing, intramural contests, skits, etc.

Summary: Given the assumption that symbols, norms, ceremonies, and rituals can be introduced into school societies and cultures, a number of suggestions have been made for pilot projects including: (1) team orientation in assessment of achievement, (2) use of helping trios, (3) the school confrontation ceremony, (4) the adversary advocate exercise for resolving conflict, (5) the writing of a school credo, (6) the observer squad, (7) the wearing of uniforms, (8) the furnishing of costly "extras" to all students, (9) cultural expression days, (10) ceremonies expressing differences and common goals, (11) student name signs, (12) development of teacher professional classroom manner, (13) provision of tutors, (14) recognition of birthdays and personal occasions, (15) turns at special duties, (16) participation in pageants, (17) designation of special days for festivals and activities.

Many other ideas could have been suggested which when tested might assist the personnel of a school in achieving agreed-upon school goals.

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Chapter 9

THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT OF TEACHERS

by

Elaine J. Chisholm
Harvey Public Schools, Illinois

This essay will address itself to the role, skills, and working environment of America's teachers. We will examine here their importance in the whole area of the educational process and discuss those items which are of vital concern to the teacher.

The reason for questioning these three areas is the concern focused on today's inner-city schools.

Skill of Teachers

Recently there has been criticism of the performance of teachers in our schools. Strident charges have been leveled because America's inner-city schools have not prepared the poor and minority group children for their roles in a technological society which no longer uses race, class, and sex as barriers to the social goals of equality of opportunity. The schools are not meeting the need of the populations they serve. They have become sieves for the restive young and their sorely harassed keepers, the teachers.[1]

Teachers, administrators, and supervisors often blame the colleges for inadequate training of the teaching staff. Too often people believe the myth that when one graduates from college, he should be prepared to function in the classroom.

Who then should assume the blame for ineffective teaching? Is it the teachers, the schools or the colleges? The teacher attends college, graduates, and is then abandoned by the institution. In his place of employment he is thrust into a number of roles. Because of this, the school where the teacher actually works has to accept the responsibility of providing the teacher with a constructive educational environment in which to develop professional competencies.

How then can teachers best prepare themselves to maintain a high level of professional standards and avoid the disillusioning experiences that they and their students must go through? Teacher preparation should include curriculum methods, psychology of child development and the social sciences for an understanding of social processes at work in the school and classroom which affect the pupil and teacher. He should also be prepared to observe, interpret, and diagnose behavioral cues and most important, to understand his role in the cultural process of socialization. The framework of a larger cultural system with formal and informal structures must be understood. The professional experiences of teachers document the satisfactions and dissatisfactions in the teaching field and should lead to important implications for teacher education programs.

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[1] John F. Check, "Dissatisfaction in Teaching," Educational Forum (January 1971), p. 175.

The bureaucratic structure and its procedures tend to cause the teacher to change or forsake what she has learned in her preservice education. The teacher education institution, as well as the public school's inservice programs, must be prepared to invest a major portion of its expertise and efforts in programs for the teacher.

Becoming a teacher is an enormously complex process. Changes in teacher preparation are not as likely to effect significant changes in the education of inner-city school children as would reforms within the institutional framework in which the teacher must operate. However, improved preservice programs would help the teacher to enter the job at a high level of preparation and anticipation as well as greatly strengthen his capacity for growth once on the job.

One of the most promising new program approaches for improved training is the teacher center as proposed by David Selden and David Darland in their paper Teacher Centers: "Who's in Charge?" The teacher center would be run by the teachers, funded by Federal, local, and State governments and adequately equipped with resources and available data to answer the teachers' specific needs. I believe that the teacher center would be a big step in the direction of improved teacher effectiveness.

The model teacher center as proposed would be funded on a continuing basis. Located as closely as possible to those who will utilize it, the teacher center would be equipped with the latest technological equipment and would have a large amount of resource materials. It would be operated solely by the teachers and staffed by teachers and their representatives.

This proposal is based on the fact that, to date, inservice training has been relatively unsuccessful. If teachers take a major role in their own professional development, the gap between ineffective and effective teaching will be lessened.

Role of the Teacher

Another reason teachers cannot function adequately in school is because they are expected to play too many roles and are generally asked to accomplish miracles that are far beyond the capacity of a single individual--no matter how well he is trained. On the surface, the teacher's role as a professional trained to manage the educational lives of his charges seems to provide him with clearly defined relationships to students, peers, authorities and the educational organization.[2] The student, the central focus of the educational process, faces a variety of controls by the trained professional. When he leaves the system, he should be a new product, possessing numerous skills and committed to comprehending the social norms.

Many students are only in school because they are forced to be there by their parents; they're not old enough to drop out; or because they don't have anything better to do. They do not want to be there. For this reason, many assume that the students' lives have to be tightly arranged and structured so that they won't waste time on noneducational pursuits. Although some teachers operate on the premise that all students must be treated the same, the students are not the same. They learn in different ways; the teacher must be flexible to motivate the different personalities. Teachers have to rationalize and universalize their instructional methods in classroom operation. The conflicts between these divergent philosophies and norms are reflected in continuing confusion regarding the appropriate managerial responses for the classroom teacher or the school principal.[3]

The teacher has to be released from some of the role demands placed on him by students in order to maintain freedom as a professional. The teacher-student relationship is seen by educators as a professional-client relationship. It is marked by the professional's concern for the student's welfare and interests, his evaluation and judgment of the student's performance and future opportunities, and his control of student-teacher interaction. Chesler and Franklin say that emphasis upon intimate and individually responsive interactions with students inevitably weakens the universalist standards incumbent upon the professional role-taker. Therefore, the insulation of the teacher from students is, to some extent, a necessary component of his ability to be objective and fair while still being interested in his welfare. The teacher's ability to exercise authority and control over his clients also is vital to the management of his own conflicts over personal and impersonal relations in class, and it permits him to be free to act in what he sees as the client's best interest.[4] We can say that the teacher must maintain a close, warm, and individualistic relationship and be allowed to exercise his own judgment in organizing and stabilizing his instructional conduct.

Recently, in many places, the teacher's professional freedom has been threatened from a new front--the community. Attempts on the part of lay adults or others to control teachers' classroom behavior inevitably weaken professional autonomy and freedom. Such views of the sanctity of the professionals' role are expressed by the substantial numbers of teachers who are opposed to giving lay persons in the community more influence in running the schools. Aside from the threat to their own freedom and status, teachers suggest such procedures would not better serve the needs of pupils. Rossi and his colleagues report that 58 percent of the white educators and 45 percent of the black educators they interviewed recently so assessed the minimal educative value of local community control of schools.[5]

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[2] M. Chesler and J. Franklin (Eds.), Report on Interracial and Intergenerational Conflict in Secondary Schools (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), p. 19.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

The internal management of schools is similar to a bureaucratic form that seeks to provide substantial freedom and autonomy to its professional agents. As Chesler and Barakat point out, however, this autonomy often results in isolation and the teacher seldom finds sufficient opportunity for the kind of peer interaction that is necessary to stimulate imaginative and creative teaching. These authors also state that the majority of teachers desire more influence than they feel they now have on the making of school educational policies.[6]

Despite aspirations in this direction, the central administration and building principal maintain final authority and, as Clark points out, "the notion of a self-governing academic community . . . is only weakly voiced in the public schools."[7] Therefore, teachers occupy their positions because of specialized knowledge which must be objectified. Their authority is restricted correspondingly and existing structures are based upon structural position which are exclusive of interpersonal effect.

As stated above, the teaching "process" is a complicated one. The teacher does far more than just teach the subject matter assigned. Among other things, he acts as a test-maker and administrator, a secretary, office clerk, policeman, operator of audiovisual materials, and a janitorial assistant. Added to these time-consuming chores are the extra-instructional roles of friend and confidante, counselor, admirer, parent surrogate, transmitter of approved cultural values, and representative of the adult culture. In other words, the teacher is not in the schools just to teach certain well-defined subject matter to a group of kids, but is expected to and strives to teach the whole child.

All of the above extra-instructional duties come under the heading of educational goals and purposes. These goals and purposes are fine for the experts, but of little help to classroom teachers whose time is taken up with day to day classroom problems and inadequate working conditions. Therefore, the teacher's job description is vague and his responsibilities diffuse and ill-defined.[8] Such a condition has resulted in a system where "every teacher fends for himself."

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[5] Ibid.

[6] M. Chesler and H. Baraket, The Innovation and Sharing of Teacher Practices: A Study of Professional Roles and Social Structure in Schools (Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Institute for Social Research, 1967), p. 21.

[7] B. Clark, Educating the Expert Society (San Francisco: Chandler, 1962), p. 159.

Some teachers have found ways to fit into a larger cultural framework; this all depends upon the individual teacher--his temperament, personality, and needs--that define the educational tone he sets for his students. This is admittedly a hit-or-miss proposition that leads away from the well-delineated goals the attainment of which can be measured in specific increments of time.[9]

Teaching is far more difficult and complicated than the public realizes. It is a very taxing and demanding job and often leads to genuine mental and physical fatigue. On the other hand, it can be tremendously rewarding to work with children and their minds. *But the teacher very seldom knows the outcome of his efforts*. He can see the pupil progress but he is never sure just how much of this progression he is responsible for. The doctor sees his patient cured but the teacher has no way of knowing the lasting influence of his labor. With the present organization of the schools, diffuseness of goals and role functions of the teachers, there is no way for the teacher or anyone else to assess successes or failures. How then do we know what makes an effective teacher? We can hypothesize that an effective teacher is one who fits into the roles described above. It then may follow that a serious look needs to be taken at the preservice and inservice training of teachers to mitigate their deficiencies.

Working Environment of Teachers

Although it is recognized that the inservice and preservice training of teachers leaves much to be desired, there are other almost equally serious areas that need to be improved and reformed. We hypothesize here that the environment the teacher works in is one of these areas, and, as it currently exists, is often a deterrent to professional growth. One may ask if the teacher's working environment really makes a difference in educational input and output. This writer says yes and will examine here some of those factors which operate in the working environment.

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[8] M. Brenton, *What's Happened to Teacher?* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1970), pp. 23-27.

[9] *Ibid.*

Class Size

Let us first examine the variable of class size. According to Jesse Burkhead in "Input and Output in Large-City High Schools," educators have found that class size is a crucial variable and that with the reduction of class size the educational input and output can be affected.[10] An examination of most recent teacher contracts will attest to the fact that class size is one of the environmental variables that teachers consider of major importance to their effectiveness. We will not discuss here the various estimates as to what constitutes an overcrowded classroom. Our assumption is that classrooms are overcrowded as revealed from an examination of NEA opinion polls and teacher contracts. From this evidence we hypothesize that classes with smaller pupil-teacher ratios can lead to greater achievement on the part of the students and improve the effectiveness of the teacher. Smaller classes have four major advantages. They:

1. Provide opportunities for teachers to measure individual student's growth and development and try a variety of teaching techniques which will be suited to the students' needs.

2. Afford the opportunity to utilize the group process whereby students are encouraged to examine concepts and ideas and to alter rigid, sometimes mistaken, approaches to issues and people. Students will learn how to become better group members. This is a prime requisite for functioning in a democracy.

3. Permit all of the students to discover the significance of subject matter involved and to discuss its potential uses, rather than just to receive it passively and return it in tests.

4. Provide students with opportunities to know their teacher on a personal, individual basis.[11]

Trump suggests that smaller classes afford the teacher the opportunity to move away from the traditional role of questioning and answering and redefine their role as one who aids the students' growth and development on a personalized basis.

Although it is generally agreed that the quality of education improves as the teacher-student ratio declines, there is need for further research regarding the most desirable ratios for a whole range of educational situations.

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[10] Jesse Burkhead, "Education as a Production Process," Input and Output in Large City Schools (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1967), p. 32.

[11] J. Trump and D. Baynham (Eds.), Guide to Better Schools (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1961), pp. 24-25.

Salary

The issue of teachers' pay is full of contradictions and confusion. Attitudes of the public and teachers are increasingly polarized around the premise that teachers are getting too much or too little. According to a study by Endicott, the average beginning salary of teachers in 1971-1972 was $7,230 compared to the beginning salary of engineers, $10,620; accountants, $10,140; physicists, $10,224; production managers, $9,312; and female home economists, $7,932.[12]

The mean starting-salaries of teachers and other graduates with bachelors degrees for 1970-1971 rates teachers at the bottom of the scale. Teacher organizations have led the fight for more money and greater fringe benefits. However, teacher salaries are not as yet commensurate with other professional occupations.

With higher salaries for teachers it can be hypothesized that there will be greater job satisfaction and more loyalty to the schools. There will be greater retention of teachers within districts. This will build more stabilized, experienced staffs and lead to better inservice programs. There will be less moonlighting and greater incentive for high performance.

The goal of raising teacher salaries is to raise professional standards and increase professional performance and educational output. A teacher should be able to advance by remaining a classroom teacher instead of having to do so by moving into an administrative or supervisory position. To date this has been the only alternative for those teachers who stay in the public schools.

Teachers' Time

Teachers need a greater opportunity to use their professional skills. Teachers typically work a 48-hour week. In addition, they grade papers, keep records, issue texts, have supervisory duties, collect money and have a host of other chores. Because of this, there is little time and energy or administrative encouragement to keep up with developments in the disciplines and develop imaginative instructional materials. The teacher's professional pride is damaged whan a part of his day is taken up with clerical and subprofessional tasks. According to Trump, this leads to low morale.

Let us first take a look at the class load as an important time variable. Teachers are scheduled for too many classes per week and the classes are too large. This gives the teacher little time to do what he is supposed to do. A recommended solution to this is to cut down the number of classes per week. Generally teachers have five classes per day, with the remainder of the time spent in some supervisory capacity. The schedule should be made more flexible so that the students and teachers can break away from the convention of five classes per day per week. Changing the length of class periods is another type of schedule flexibility. A school day may be divided into 15 or 20 minute modules and different classes may meet for a varied number of modules--one, two, three, five, or any number desired, depending upon the purpose of the class. Under the module system, it is also possible to have classes meet on certain specified days of the week instead of every day.

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[12] F. Endicott, "Salaries of Beginning Teachers and Beginners in Other Professions," NEA Research Bulletin, Vol. 49, No. 3 (1971), p. 87.

Another possible step in schedule modification is to leave open one or two periods near the middle of the school day. During this time, students can be scheduled for a variety of activities--discussions, lab work, independent study, etc. A more radical type of modification is provided by scheduling classes for four days a week. One full day a week then can be kept free of regular classes. Several school systems have already adopted this system, and set aside every Friday for professional growth.

These suggested methods of schedule modification should be used only as first steps and not as ultimate goals.[13] Initiating one of these schedule modifications would lead to lighter class loads for teachers because all three alternatives leave the teacher with time when he will not have regularly scheduled classes. This will also provide time when teachers in the same discipline can meet and discuss common problems.

Another factor which diffuses the teacher's time is the large amount of clerical and noninstructional tasks which have to be done in the course of every day's activities. For many years, the American Federation of Teachers has been engaged very successfully in a struggle to remove nonessential tasks from the workday of the teachers. Illustrative of this is the provision in the collective-bargaining contract negotiated by the Washington, D.C., Teachers Union, AFT Local 6, in which 20 clerical-type tasks are identified in the clause dealing with "relief from nonteaching duties."[14] Clerical work in this context means preparing lesson plans, typing and duplicating materials, taking records, preparing reports, and other "routine" services that fall below the professional level of teaching. These noninstructional tasks can be diminished by the use of instructional assistants--general aides (paraprofessionals) and instructional secretaries or clerks.

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[13] Trump and Baynham, op. cit., p. 6.

[14] Robert Bhaerman, "A Paradigm for Accountability," AFT Quest Paper, No. 12 (Washington, D.C., 1970), p. 4.

According to David Turner, University School of Kent State University, instructional secretaries can help in preparing materials, performing routine clerical duties, checking papers, ordering materials for instruction and making arrangement for educational experiences, assembling information for use in teaching or guidance, and preparing communications with parents or outside agencies.

The Davidson County Tennessee Study showed that nine instructional secretaries serving 61 teachers were able to save approximately 6,000 hours of teaching time during the 180-day teaching year. This means that slightly less that 100 hours per teacher were saved per year with a secretary-teacher ratio of approximately one to seven. This is based on a 4-hour work day for the secretaries. The teachers' records indicated that 76 percent of the time saved was used for purposes directly related to the instructional program. The time was used in the following ways: planning, instruction in class, guidance, relaxation, professional study, community activities, personal activities, home-school relations, and extracurricular activities.[15]

There are many ways the paraprofessional can help in the area of noninstructional tasks. They can help get and set up experiments, operate audiovisual equipment such as projectors, help with inventories of books and supplies, monitor pupil activity, escort children on errands outside the classroom but within the school, make arrangements for field trips, and read aloud or listen to children reading.

The lesson plan is also a time consumer. It should be pointed out that lesson plans in the plan book and the actual behavior of teachers and pupils, as well as events within the classroom, are frequently very different things. Part of the teacher's function is to prepare her work. Written plans, however, bear no relationship to superior or improved teaching. The writing out of lesson plans is not a necessary function of the teacher.

Misassignment

Much remains to be known about the relationship of teacher preparation to teacher effectiveness. It would seem reasonable to assume that teachers are not generally arbitrarily assigned to teach a subject for which they have had no preparation. Nevertheless, either because a specialist in a certain discipline is unavailable or because it is inconvenient to hire one, misassignment is commonplace in the public schools. For the purposes of definition, we will define misassignment as placing the wrong teacher with the wrong students at the wrong time.

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[15] Robert Bhaerman, "Paraprofessionals and Professionalism," AFT Quest Paper, No. 8 (Washington, D.C., 1970), p. 1.

A nationwide misassignment study sponsored by the NEA gives some hint of its extent. A total of 1,035 survey questionnaires were returned which described 677 cases of misassignment. The actual incidence is probably much higher since 40 percent of all educators to whom the questionnaire was sent failed to return it. Fifty-nine percent of the cases involved lack of subject-matter competence.[16]

Teachers think of themselves as specific kinds of teachers--math, English, secondary, elementary, etc. This is the way they are trained and certified. Misassignment could be a contributor to a teacher's lack of self-confidence. A teacher's image of himself is by no means unrelated to his performance in the classroom. If teachers are not qualified to teach in different disciplines and they are assigned to teach in those areas, both the teacher and the student usually suffer. The frustration of trying to keep ahead of the students in an unfamiliar content area is of no advantage to the students and often leaves the teacher with the fear of failure.

Evaluation

Most teachers dislike being evaluated. In fact, sometimes excellent teachers move from one district to another just to be in a school that has less supervision. Teachers resent and resist evaluation because generally they feel insecure; they see it as artificial and as an intrusion on their classroom autonomy.

Most present evaluation systems are not generally based upon any proven standards of teaching. They are usually based on such nebulous criteria as the professional organizations one belongs to, how well one conforms to administrative policies, skill in lesson-plan making, personal appearance, control of class. This type of criteria inevitably leads to harassment of the teacher. If evaluation is going to continue to be a part of the educational process, then a system must be devised that involves the teacher in its development, is based upon research evidence regarding criteria of excellence, and is basically oriented toward constructive ends.

When evaluation is affirmative rather than vindictive, there is no reason why a multitude of resources cannot be utilized: peers, supervisors, college personnel, self-evaluation (e.g., Guided Self-Analysis), and even student assessment. There is no reason why some combination of devices cannot be used, for example Minnesota Teacher Attitudes Inventory (attitudes), Allport-Vernon Lindzey (values), Interaction Analysis (verbal behavior), Withall's Social-Emotional

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[16] Brenton, _op_. _cit_.

Climate Index, or the Spaulding Teacher-Activity Rating Schedule (interpersonal relationships). (Note: In the article on teacher effectiveness in the Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Flanders reports with cautious optimism that the tools needed for the analysis of the teaching-learning process are gradually being developed. He writes that, "The preponderance of evidence gathered so far would indicate that most currently practicing teachers could adopt patterns which are more responsive to the ideas and opinions expressed by pupils and realize a gain in both positive pupil attitudes and pupil achievement.")

Participation

Teachers basically want acceptance and recognition of their competencies in their own area of responsibility. They want to participate in decisionmaking processes in the school.

Elton Mayo, John Dewey, et al., found in their human-relations school of administration that nonauthoritarian leadership, such as democratic leadership of a sort that encouraged an atmosphere of participation and communication, an atmosphere which expressed concern for people and not just concern for work, and an atmosphere of interest and fairness provided the best setting for increased efficiency.[17] A study of a large number of school systems revealed that teachers who participate regularly or actively in the development of policies and plans are more likely to be enthusiastic about their school system than those who participate not at all or to a limited extent.

Teachers are increasingly being invited to help formulate policy decisions; but participation is sporadic and informal except where it is made a contractual requirement. If teachers are involved in policymaking, decisionmaking, and matters that directly concern them, then it can be assumed that this will lead to greater job satisfaction. Serious consideration should therefore be directed toward increased teacher participation in educational decisionmaking.

Teacher organizations have had much to do with the demands of school staffs for fuller participation in the formulation of school policies. A strong teachers' organization can affect local policy in many ways. Through voicing positions on crucial educational issues, the teachers' union can guide the board's decisions. Another way is by campaigning for or against issues brought to the people for vote.

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[17] Check, op. cit.

Another advantage of increased participation of the staff in decisionmaking is that it generally leads to a more democratic process and organization in the end. This results in an increase in the sharing of information, ideas, and resources. Channels of communication are improved between the teacher, student, administrator, and community.

It is difficult to delineate in a precise order of importance all of the environmental factors that enter into the effectiveness of teachers. We assume that the variables discussed here affect student and teacher performance and strongly influence the relative success of educational programs.

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PART IV

Educational Change

Chapter 10

SCHOOL REFORM, EDUCATIONAL CHANGE, AND PUBLIC POLICY

by

Lee Anderson
Northwestern University

The central issue in this essay can be simply stated: What procedure is needed to achieve substantial school reform? To pose the issue is one thing. To deal with it is quite a different matter for inherent in the question is a series of complex issues not subject to easy resolution. The issues in respect to school reform will be discussed from the perspective of the public policies that would be appropriate to promote school reform.

These issues can be discussed by noting three general public policies that might be pursued concerning the problem of school reform. One is a policy of "benign neglect." In essence this is a policy of nonaction. This policy is reasonable if any one of three conditions prevail: (a) school reform is not a serious or pressing social problem, (b) the likelihood of realizing school reform is as great if not greater in the absence of planned reform efforts as it is in the presence of such efforts, or (c) school reform is a problem which is not susceptible to treatment through governmental action regardless of the content or character of that action. None of these conditions can be supported by practice, logic, or from the educational literature, and, therefore, a policy of benign neglect is an inappropriate response to the problem of school reform.

A second possible approach to the problem of school reform is a policy of "muddling through."[1] Such a policy would consist of a series of fragmented and disjointed programs. A policy of muddling through would be acceptable under either of two conditions. If it were effective in dealing with the problem of school reform and/or if it were the best of all possible alternatives. The former is not the case and the latter judgment should not be assumed until an alternative is thoroughly explored.

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[1] We do not use this term in a derogatory sense. The concept of "muddling through" as an approach to complex public policy issues has a respected history and elaborate rationale. See Charles E. Lindblom, "The Sense of Muddling Through," Public Administration Review, Vol. 19 (1959), pp. 79-88; and David Braybrooke and Charles E. Lindblom, A Strategy of Decision: Policy Evaluation as a Social Process (London: Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1963). For an analysis and critique of the Lindblom argument see Charles L. Schultze, The Politics and Economics of Public Spending (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1968).

The third alternative might be termed "strategic" policy. Such a policy would consist of a set of integrated programs which collectively form a coherent, although open-ended strategy for bringing about school reform. A "strategic" policy will be reasonable if two conditions exist: a higher probability of success than the available alternatives; and if it is intellectually possible to design and politically feasible to execute. There are no doubts about the first, and cautious hope about the second. Moreover, there are no substantial costs, beyond frustrated hopes, in opting for "strategic" policy. Should the option not work and the effort to develop such a policy becomes a policy of "muddling through," the effort to reform is no worse off than if the latter had been selected in the first place. On the other hand, if it works and the assumption about relative payoffs is correct, then a great deal has been gained.

Having set forth three alternative approaches to a policy of school reform and having indicated a preference for a "strategic" policy, a discussion of the issues central in the development of a strategic policy of reform can be summarized in the following questions.

1. What is the relationship between school reform and educational change?

2. What are the preconditions for educational change?

3. What is the relationship of public policy to the preconditions of educational change?

4. What are the implications of the analysis of these three issues for the design of a strategic policy of reform?

Before moving on to a discussion of these issues, the definitions and the conceptualization that underlies these four questions should be set forth. "School reform," as used in this report, refers to improvements in student learning. A school is reformed when between time one and time two improvement in level of student learning has occurred which is not simply attributable to change in the composition of the school's student body or change that could be attributed to nonschool factors such as maturation or family effects.[2]

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[2] Ibid.

The term "educational change" refers to any planned alteration or intended innovation in the educational enterprise.[3] A later discussion will be less general and distinguish five major domains in which planned innovations can potentially occur. For the present a general discussion is adequate except to say that incorporated into the notion of change is the implementation of innovations as well as their adoption. Educational change has not occurred if an innovation has not been implemented as well as adopted. There is a difference between the two. For example, there are schools which have adopted new instructional programs such as modern mathematics or a new science curriculum but have never fully or even partially implemented them.[4]

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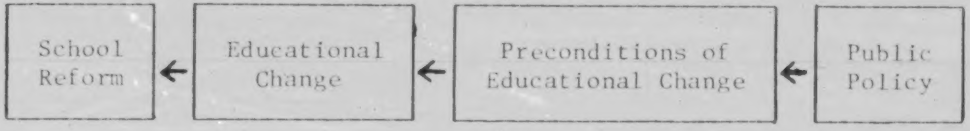
"Preconditions of educational change" refers to phenomena that must be present for educational change leading to school reform to take place. Examples of such phenomena include the existence of a certain type of knowledge, the existence of certain competencies within indiviuals, and the existence of certain organizational capabilities.

"Public policy" is an ambiguous and bothersome term. In this discussion it simply means the actions taken, the decisions made and the activities or programs supported by public officials responsible for education at local, State, and national levels. Elaboration will be given later but this general conception of public policy suffices for now.

The phenomena just defined are interlinked in the following manner:



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[3] This definition of educational change as planned alteration or intended innovation excludes evolutionary or unplanned change. The latter is obviously an important type of change, but by definition it is change which is not subject to control. For a brief discussion of the distinction between planned and unplanned change see Neal Gross, et al., Implementing Organizational Innovations: A Sociological Analysis of Planned Educational Change (New York: Basic Books, Inc. 1971), pp. 19-20.

[4] See ibid. for an extensive and well researched case study of educational change that emphasizes the importance of the implementation phase of innovation. See also Seymour Sarason, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971).

School reform is a consequence of the occurrence of educational changes. In turn, these changes are the consequence or product of the existence of factors which are necessary and sufficient preconditions of planned change. Public policy is part of the means through which the preconditions of educational change leading to school reform are created or generated.

The Relationship of School Reform and Educational Change

With these definitions and this conceptual framework in mind, a treatment of the first of the four general issues noted above can now be presented, namely: What is the relationship between school reform and educational change?

As noted previously the terms school reform and educational change are not one and the same. Reform refers to an increase in level of student learning and educational change to alterations in the structure or process of schooling. Reform implies educational change in the sense that there can be no reform without educational change. On the other hand, reform does not automatically follow in the wake of educational change. As logicians would put the matter, educational change is a necessary but insufficient condition of school reform. Hence, it is critical in the design of a strategy of reform to inquire into the relationship between school reform and particular kinds of educational change.

Any discussion of improvement in the schools should include evaluative criteria that tell when the intended improvement has been achieved. It is not possible to establish ultimate standards in school reform because the criteria applied to the judgment of success in school reform are relative and dynamic. They are relative because the changes that occur must be compared with the starting point prior to reform and the amount of change that occurs from that point forward. If the amount of change is measured according to increased pupil progress, for example, then the limit of reform is never absolutely defined for who is to say that pupils could not learn more than is represented by any given level of achievement? One could never say that reform has been completed and that a desirable but static state of affairs has been developed. It is realistic only to speak of reform as a degree of change in which the change increases the likelihood of improving the desirable consequences of school activities. For this reason absolutes and clearly delineated judgments with yes and no answers to questions about school reform are available only within an operational context. However, criteria for success can be listed within that context and the insistence that a resolute effort can be made to achieve those standards is possible and desirable.

The criteria for judging the success of reform efforts are dynamic because the knowledge base on which the criteria are based is also in a state of change. The process for reform might be re-examined to make certain they reflect changes in the times. The changing and relative criteria for the judgment of successful school reform make it unlikely that constant outcome will be maintained for a long period of time in the development and installation of educational reform. Long-range goals for reform provide benchmarks for reform but once these standards are met, adjustments in those goals should be made according to the experience of the effort.

In setting forth a position about the reform of the schools, the best that can be done is to establish standards and criteria for reform, identify the domains that come under the aegis of reform, analyze each of the domains independently and according to the relationships among them, and recommend the approach in public policy that is most likely to be successful in carrying out reform. The standards and criteria for reform are listed in the recommendations of this report. This section, however, deals with the analysis of the domains for reform.

In providing such an analysis of the domains for change, one cannot say, for instance, that reform in school finance has been achieved to a sufficient degree; one can only say that reform has been achieved to the extent that the amount or efficiency of the dollars involved has been altered and that the change is yielding a better return for the investment than previously.

It is also difficult to establish clear distinctions between the several domains as to their dependence or independence from one another. The likelihood that reform in one domain of the school will have secondary or tertiary effects on another domain in contrast to sweeping reform that requires alteration in each of the major domains of schooling is critically linked to the role of public policy, the priorities in reform and the establishment of procedures for reform. Later in this discussion, attention will be given to this concern. In general, at this point it should be stressed that one should not claim a reform effort has failed if one or more of the domains is insufficiently supported or implemented. One could only conclude that the reform movement was less successful than it otherwise would be if all domains for reform were optimized.

The degree of reform is also contingent on the unit of analysis and the target for reform. If a given school reform enables student A to progress from point B to point C, then student A is a success case if point C represents achievement that was judged to be adequate for successful school reform. Even if no other students in the entire system were affected by the reform effort, one could conclude that the reform effort was successful for student A if his progress could be tied to the reforms that took place in the school. It is unlikely that anyone would consider the successful achievement of one pupil to be sufficient as a criterion of successful school reform. On the other hand, if a given school system can provide for all students to move from point B to point D and point D is maximum achievement of all pupils, then the school system would be successful in achieving school reform. It is equally unlikely that any school system would be expected to adapt to human factors and organize its resources so well that every pupil attained his maximum and no problems arose for which ready solutions were unavailable. Somewhere between these two extremes is the reality of school reform.

In previous essays five major domains of potential educational change were identified. These were:

1. School programs
2. School personnel
3. The social organization and culture of the schools
4. The governance of education
5. School finance

Four questions should be answered about the relationship of reform to change in these five domains. They are:

1. Is change in any single one of these domains a sufficient condition of school reform?
2. In which of the domains is change a necessary condition of reform?
3. What is the relationship among the education changes deemed to be necessary to school reform?
4. Do the educational changes deemed necessary to school reform collectively constitute a sufficient condition of reform?

The first question in this series is most critical. It is most critical because if there is one single domain of educational change which is a sufficient condition of school reform then there is no need to be concerned about questions two, three, or four. If there is one kind of educational change which will result in school reform if that change occurs, then policymakers can target their attention solely and exclusively upon inducing one domain of change. The other or noncritical domains of change may be of considerable academic interest and of practical import to individuals directly caught up in these other changes but they need not be considered directly in the design of reform strategy.

It would be fortunate if there were a single key to unlock the door to school reform. What is the case? In order for any one domain of change to constitute a sufficient condition of reform, change in that domain must meet two criteria. It must directly involve students and it must not be dependent upon change in other domains. There are two domains of educational change that meet the first criterion: change in school programs and change in the competency of teachers. It is probable that any degree of substantial change in these two domains is dependent on changes in school finance and is probably linked to changes in the social organization and culture of the schools. To accept this position is to argue for dependence among all five domains of educational effort which would require reform of the entire system or else the reform movement would be frozen into an unmovable position. One might take that position and contend that reform must be extensive or there is really no reform at all.

Of course, a policy of gradualism in which a sequence of changes might occur within one or more domains concurrently and the degree of change with any given domain is systematically increased, may allow for extensive reform to occur over a period of time. Even a tactic of gradualism is premised on the expectation that all domains germane to educational reform must be altered before reform can be achieved. Before concluding that all domains must be changed, consideration should be given to reform within a single domain that may be a sufficient condition for school reform to occur. Since school programs are dependent on teachers for their implementation, it is apparent that a change in the domain of school programs is not a sufficient condition of change. Therefore, the only domain that might be changed and be a sufficient condition for change is the domain of teacher competency.

It may be possible that within teacher training programs there are sufficient resources that their reallocation might alter the effectiveness of the schools and meet the requirements of school reform. The limited financial resources of the schools suggest that additional support is needed and that the domain of school finance needs reform in order to alter and improve the training of teachers. However, reform in school finance includes two dimensions. One dimension is the increase in the financial support of the schools either through new taxing procedures or rendering new decisions on appropriations. The other dimension is the reorganization of school expenditures within a given domain to utilize existing funds differently.

In the domain of school personnel, if existing resources are sufficient but need to be allocated differently, this domain might be changed without support from any of the other domains and the reform of the schools might occur in this area alone. The investment in preservice programs, student teaching experiences, inservice training, and the salaries and overhead for all supervisory personnel should be examined to make certain the impact of the investment in these services is appropriately directed. If such an examination released sufficient funds to alter teacher training programs that would make a difference in pupil learning, then the domain of school personnel could proceed independently from reform in the other domains. If insufficient funding could be located in this procedure or if the changes in teacher training could not function effectively without also changing the other domains, then the domain of school personnel would be dependent on reform of the other domains. The probability of initiating reform in the domain of school personnel is worth attempting but the logic of the matter, given existing circumstances, is that school personnel and the training they receive are not likely to be altered appreciably or sustained over a period of time without receiving the support embodied in the other domains.

In response to the question as originally posed, and with the limited possibility that partial reform might occur within the domain of school personnel, it is a reluctant conclusion that there is no one single domain of educational change which is a sufficient condition for lasting school reform.

The second question noted above asks what changes are the necessary conditions of school reform. In respect to the five domains of change under discussion, there are two logically alternative answers to this question: (1) All five can be judged to be necessary conditions of reform or (2) change in one or more of the domains can be deemed nonessential to the achievement of school reform.

It will be most beneficial if the second of the possibilities matches reality. The fewer and less difficult the number of changes that are necessary conditions of school reform, the higher the likelihood that reform will be achieved. Once again preference and perception of reality diverge. Logic suggests that change in all five domains--school programs, the competency of personnel, the organization and culture of schools, the governance of education, and the structure of school finance--is a necessary condition of school reform.

The basis of this judgment is twofold. In the case of two domains--school program and teacher competency--change is directly related to reform in the sense that reform cannot occur unless change takes place in these domains regardless of how extensive change may be in the other domains. In the case of the other three domains--the social organization and culture of schools, the governance of education, and school finance--change is indirectly related to reform in two important ways. It seems reasonable to believe on the one hand that the effectiveness of schools as learning environments is conditioned by the level of organizational health they enjoy and on the other hand that change in governance, finance, and organizational structure and culture is related to the level of organizational health.[5] Second, changes in school programs and in the competence of personnel are linked to changes in other facets of the educational enterprise and are the delivery system for those other facets.

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[5] For a discussion of the concept of organizational health as applied to schools see Matthew Miles, "Planned Change and Organizational Health: Figure and Grant," in Fred D. Carver and Thomas J. Sergiovanni (Eds.), *Organization and Human Behavior: Focus on Schools* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), pp. 375-388. Following in the tradition of such organizational theorists as Agryris, Bennis, and Parsons, Miles divides organizational health into three broad areas: task accomplishment, internal integration, and the mutual adoption of the organization and its environment. David Johnson has provided a useful summary of Miles' conception of organizational health in each of these areas:

> In the *task-accomplishment area* a healthy organization is one with (1) reasonably clear, accepted, achievable, and appropriate goals, (2) relatively undistorted communication flow horizontally, vertically, and to and from the environment, and (3) optimal power equalization, with the style of influence being essentially collaborative, based on competence and problem-solving needs, rather than upon organizational position. In the *internal-integration area* a healthy organization is one with (1) full utilization of its resources, which includes a relatively good fit between the personal dispositions of its members and the role demands of their positions (thus, teachers in a relatively healthy school environment would have an accompanying sense of self-actualization in terms of their own goals and personalities), (2) an organizational identity clear and attractive enough so that members feel actively connected with the organization, and (3) high member morale, which involves feelings of well-being, satisfaction, and pleasure at belonging to the organization, as opposed to feelings of discomfort, dissatisfaction, and anxiety.
>
> Finally, four dimensions of organizational health deal with *growth and change*. They are: (1) innovativeness; a tendency to grow, develop, change, diversify over time, (2) autonomy; the ability to act from internal strength rather than being a passive tool of the environment, (3) adaptation; the simultaneous changes in organization and environment that occur continuously during organizational-environmental contact processes, and (4) problem-solving adequacy; the organization's ability to detect the problems which inevitably arise, to invent possible solutions, decide on certain solutions to adopt, carry them out, and evaluate their effectiveness.

David W. Johnson, *The Social Psychology of Education* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), pp. 252-253.

The latter leads to the third question noted above. This is: What is the relationship between change in the different domains? It is logically conceivable that there is no relationship in the sense that change in one domain is independent of change in other domains. A second possibility is that change in one domain is causally related to change in other domains in the sense that change in one is a necessary and sufficient condition of change in others. A third possibility is that the different domains of educational change are functionally related so that change in one domain is dependent upon change in one or more other domains.

Of these three logical possibilities the first can be rejected with ease. There is no theoretical or empirical warrant to believe that change in the different domains of the educational enterprise are independent of one another. The second possibility is intriguing because if there are strong causal relationships between change in different domains, then reform policy need not directly focus upon all five domains even though change in all five is a necessary condition of reform. Are changes in the five domains linked in strong causal relationships? The answer appears to be no, but exceptions occur to include some aspects of this option as feasible. On the one hand, increasing per-pupil expenditure does not necessarily cause desirable change to occur in school programs or change in school programs does not necessarily result in change in teacher behavior.[6] On the other hand, improved teacher competence may force school finance to change.

The third possibility--educational changes are functionally interrelated--appears to be the most descriptive of reality. A mapping of the network of dependencies and interdependencies that link change together in the five domains is well beyond the scope of this paper. Several illustrations are needed. It seems reasonable that a change in school finance is a necessary, although an insufficient, condition of change in the other domains. Any substantial kind of curricular reform seems dependent upon change in the competency of teachers and very likely upon change in the culture of schools, for example, in the socially shared perceptions of what learning is and how it comes about.[7] Also, in many cases, change in the governance of education is a requisite of change in the social organization of schools and in school programs.[8]

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[6] Needless to say, when we say that changes are not causally related we are not saying that change in one part of a school does not have any ramifications for other parts. This would be patently false. Changes in curriculum, in class scheduling, and so on do have second, third, and fourth order consequences for other aspects of school operation. Watson illustrates this point very well:

> . . . a change in teacher-pupil relationships is likely to have repercussions on teacher-principal interaction, on parent-principal contacts, on pressure groups operating on the superintendent, on board-member chances for reelection, and perhaps on the relationship of the local system to state or Federal agencies.

Goodwin Watson (Ed.), Concepts for Social Change (Washington: National Training Laboratories, National Education Association, 1967), p. 20.

The fourth and final question noted above remains. Do the educational changes deemed necessary to reform when combined become a sufficient condition of reform? They would if three conditions hold. The domains of change necessary to reform must be accurately identified.[9] Those responsible for inducing change in each of the domains must know what innovations are needed. Three, these needed innovations must be successfully implemented. Unfortunately, no one can guarantee that these conditions will hold; therefore, a *prior* knowledge, if policy premised on this analysis will in fact lead to school reform, is unknown. This point is not made as an academic expression of uncertainty but because this point, like the other arguments outlined in this section, has significant impact for the design of reform policy. Attention shall be given to this later. In summary form the conclusions that emerge from this analysis of the relationship of school reform and educational change can now be stated. These are four in number and relate to each of four issues raised at the start of the discussion.

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[7] See Sarason, *op. cit*.

[8] See Gross, *op. cit*., for a description in one setting of one pattern of dependencies.

[9] We recognize that we may not have done this. Our analysis presupposes that school reform can occur in the absence of two kinds of change which some analysts insist are necessary conditions of reform. These are school integration and/or basic structural changes in the socioeconomic organization of American society. For example, Herriotte and Hodgkins probably reflect the judgment of several students of school reform in observing:

> . . . we expect that the greatest change in the structure and functioning of the American public school in less modern areas will come not from local, State or Federal initiative focused directly upon the schools, but rather from external forces that can modify the socio-cultural context in which these schools exist. We suspect that until the local environment which supports, maintains, and controls the American public school can be changed, little widespread change can be made in the structure of the school itself.

Robert E. Herriotte and Benjamin J. Hodgkins, "Social Context and and the School: An Open System Analysis of Social and Educational Change," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 34 (June 1969), p. 163.

1. There is no one single domain of educational change which is a sufficient condition of extensive reform. Partial reform or compromise in reform might occur in any domain that has the resources and wisdom within it to be independent of the other domains. Sustained reform under these conditions is unlikely and permanent reform will require support from other domains.

2. Change in each of the five domains--in school programs, in the competency of school personnel, in the social organization and culture of schools, in the governance of education and in the political economy of school finance--is a necessary condition of school reform.

3. Changes in the five different domains are functionally but not causally related.

4. Because of uncertainties inherent in the situation, it is not possible to know _a priori_ if collectively the necessary conditions of school reform constitute a sufficient condition of reform.

Educational Change

To this point the relationship between school reform and educational change was explored. Attention to an examination of the conditions of educational change follows. Just as reform was viewed as a consequence of the presence of changes that were necessary and sufficient conditions of reform, educational change can be regarded as a resultant of antecedent conditions. The issues in educational change can be summarized as follows:

1. What preconditions must be presented in order for educational change to occur?

2. What is the relationship between different preconditions of change?

Before moving to a discussion of these issues, a very important fact should be stated. This fact is that little is known about the dynamics and process of educational change. Such knowledge is requisite to a theory of educational change that would specify with precision and specificity the necessary and sufficient conditions of change in the educational enterprise. Almost a decade ago Matthew Miles remarked that "we do not know with any clarity or precision about almost every imaginable aspect of innovation in education."[10] Since that time the situation has changed somewhat but not a great deal. Little is known about schools as social organizations, about the structure and functioning of the overall educational enterprise and specifically about the process and dynamics of planned educational change.[11]

The regrettably limited character of knowledge about change is cited for two reasons. One is as a note of caution to the discussion that follows. The other is more important. The limited nature of knowledge about the process and dynamics of educational change is itself a significant fact that has substantial import for the design of reform policy as shall be noted later.

What are the preconditions of educational change? This question can be answered by examining the assumptions that underlie four prevailing conceptions or models of educational change. These are:

1. Educational change as a process of research, development, and diffusion.

2. Educational change as a process of organizational development.

3. Educational change as a process of personnel development.

4. Educational change as a political process.

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[10] Matthew Miles, "Educational Innovation: The Nature of the Problem," in Innovation in Education (New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1964), p. 40.

[11] Sarason remarks,

> . . . there is growing awareness that we know far less about the actual functioning of schools and school systems than we have realized. If this is true, it suggests that our past efforts to change and improve our schools have been less than successful in part because we thought we knew what we needed to know about the actual functioning of these complex organizations. In short, the problem has resided not only "out there" in the schools, but in the ways in which we have been accustomed to thinking about what it was that needed to be changed, and these ways of thinking prevented us from recognizing what we did not know but needed to know. (p. 230.)

The first of these approaches, which is commonly termed an R D & D model of educational change, is perhaps the single most widely prevailing conception of educational change.[12] In this model, change is seen as the end product of a four-stage process. Through educational research new knowledge is produced. This knowledge serves as a base for the development of new educational products, practices, or procedures. These innovations are then disseminated to educational decisionmakers and practitioners. Some fraction of the latter then adopt, pilot, and implement some fraction of these innovations in schools or other educational institutions.

According to this model, the conditions of educational change appear to be:

1. An expansion of basic and applied knowledge about learning, schools, and schooling.

2. An expansion in the range, number, and quality of educational innovations.

3. An expanded and strengthened communication system through which the findings of educational research can be transmitted to the developers of innovations and these innovations in turn disseminated to potential adopters.

Do these conditions constitute necessary and sufficient conditions of educational change leading to school reform? They appear to be necessary but not sufficient conditions of reform producing change. They are necessary conditions for the following reasons. First, in each of the five major domains of education discussed in the previous section, the level of basic knowledge about relevant variables and their interrelationships is inadequate. A mapping or inventory of the state of affairs in respect to basic knowledge in each of the five domains is beyond this paper but such a mapping would show deficiencies in each domain. For example, knowledge about the social organization and culture of schools is extremely limited. It is known that schools are peculiar blends of diverse and partially conflicting organizational elements, such as some bureaucratic elements, some elements characteristic of professionally controlled organizations and some elements characteristic of laissez-faire systems in which the level of social control is very low.[13]

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[12] Guba and Clark perhaps provide the most elaborate conceptualization of this model.

[13] For a good discussion of this point see Dan C. Lortie, "The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching," in Amitai Etzioni (Ed.), The Semi-Professions and their Organization (New York: The Free Press, 1969), pp. 1-53.

In the absence of additional knowledge, it is impossible to accurately locate schools in a taxonomy of social organizations, let alone map the variances that exist between large and small schools, schools in large and small districts, schools serving rural communities, urban communities, and suburban communities. Much the same can be said in respect to the governance of education. Studies of the political life of the educational system in contrast to simple descriptions of formal structures or legal forms have just begun.[14]

There is a need to continue developmental work in each of the five areas. In some areas, promising breakthroughs seem near in respect to the development of more effective alternatives to the status quo, such as performance-based teacher education programs, protocol materials, and microteaching.[15] In other areas the development of innovations has just begun. The social organization and culture of schools, the governance of education, and the political economy of school finance come immediately to mind. For example, alternative models or approaches to expanded parental, teacher, and student participation in educational decisionmaking are in rudimentary stages of development; an intense search for viable alternatives to prevailing modes of school finance has just begun.

It is hard to imagine a communication system in an advanced society that is more underdeveloped than that which exists in American education. It seems unlikely that substantial progress toward school reform can be made until the traditional isolation of teachers from one another, the isolation of schools from each other, and the mutual isolation of schools and knowledge-producing institutions is superseded by a far more elaborate communications network.

For these reasons the R D & D model points to three significant and necessary conditions of educational change leading to school reform. However, as indicated, they are not sufficient preconditions. For the latter to be the case, at least two characteristics would have to be present in the educational system.

All schools would need a very high and similar capacity to adopt, implement, and institutionalize educational innovations. Clearly this is not the case. Many commentators argue that schools, in comparison to other organizations, are resistant to innovations because of peculiar organizational and functional characteristics.[16] Whether this is true or not, it is clear that some schools have a greater capacity to absorb innovations--generally those serving high SES communities--than do other schools--generally those serving low SES communities. In short, the impact on educational change of R D & D investment seemingly has the least impact on schools that experience the greatest need for reform.[17]

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[14] It is customary to date the beginning of a self-conscious study of the politics of education to be the publication in 1959 of Thomas H. Eliot's article, "Toward an Understanding of Public School Politics," American Political Science Review, Vol. LII (December 1959), pp. 1032-51.

[15] See Benjamin Rosner, The Power of Competency-Based Teacher Education (Report of the "Outside Track" of Task Force '72 of the U.S. Office of Education) (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1972).

For the preconditions of change specified by an R D & D model to be sufficient conditions of educational change, there would need to exist a consensus of values and perceptions among various role occupants--researchers, developers, disseminators, and adopters--or in lieu of this, there would need to exist a set of power relationships that created a linear system of accountability.[18] Researchers would need to hold developers accountable for their action; developers would need to hold disseminators accountable; and disseminators would need to hold adopters accountable. These conditions do not characterize the American educational system. There are substantial differences among researchers, developers, and practitioners, and none are in a position to hold the others accountable for their actions.

A second approach to educational change is termed an organizational development model of change.[19] In contrast to the R D & D approach which focuses attention on the development and diffusion of innovations, this model focuses upon schools as organizations. The organizational development model sees educational change as a product of growth or increase in the organizational capacity of schools to constructively change in response to changing environments, expectations, and demands.

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[16] See, for example, Goodwin Watson (Ed.), Change in School Systems (Washington, D.C.: National Training Laboratories, NEA, 1967), J. R. Frymier, Fostering Educational Change (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1969), and Ronald and Beatrice Gross (Eds.), Radical School Reform (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969); and John Granito, "Preparing School Leaders for Educational Change," Journal of Research and Development, Vol. 5 (Spring 1972), pp. 64-70.

[17] See Morris Janowitz, Institution Building in Urban Education (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969), p. 14; Ronald Campbell and Robert Bunnell, "Differential Impact of National Programs in Secondary Schools," The School Review, Vol. 71 (1963), pp. 464-476; and Gordon Cawetti, "Innovative Practices in High Schools: Who Does What--and Why--and How," Nation's Schools, Vol. 74 (April 1967), pp. 56-60.

[18] For a brief discussion of this point see Ernest R. House, "A Critique of Linear Change Models in Education," Educational Technology, Vol. XI (October 1971), p. 35.

[19] For a discussion of organizational development see Miles, "Planned Change and Organizational Health," op. cit.; Paul C. Buchanan, "The Concept of Organizational Change, or Self-Renewal

This model of educational change directs attention to the conditions internal to schools that must be present if change is to occur. What are these? At a minimum they appear to be:[20]

1. The existence of incentives to change created by a confluence of internal and external dissatisfaction with the performance of the organization.

2. The existence of power to change in the sense of a freedom from external constraints that prevent or severely restrict any alteration in the status quo.

3. The existence of leaders capable of mobilizing support for organizational members who encounter difficulties or problems carrying out new roles and responsibilities.

4. The existence of a plan for change that grows out of a systemic self-examination of past practices and current problems and which anticipates and provides for the technical assistance and material resources organizational members will need in order to assume new roles or carry out new activities.

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as a Form of Planned Change," and Matthew B. Miles and Dale G. Lake, "Self-Renewal in School Systems: A Strategy for Planned Change," in Goodwin Watson (Ed.), _Concepts of Social Change_, _op. cit_., pp. 1-9, 81-88; Paul C. Buchanan, "Innovative Organizations -- A Study in Organizational Development," _Applying Behavioral Science Research in Industry_, Monograph No. 23 (New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, 1964), Paul Buchanan, "Crucial Issues in Organizational Development," in _Change in Social Systems_ (Washington, D.C.: Cognitive Project for Educational Development, National Training Laboratories, National Education Association, 1967).

Our statement of these conditions reflects an effort to crystalize and put in brief summary form a set of factors which are commonly noted in organizational change literature. We have relied particularly on Gross, _op. cit_., Sarason, _op. cit_., and L. E. Greiner, "Patterns of Organizational Change," _Harvard Business Review_, Vol. 45 (1967), pp. 119-131.

[20] _Ibid_.

5. The existence of the financial resources above and beyond everyday operating costs that are necessary to the development and implication of a change plan.

6. The existence of sufficient time to plan and carry out innovations.

The preconditions of change implied by an organizational development model are necessary, but insufficient conditions of educational change requisite to substantial and widespread school reform exist. There can be no reform producing educational change that is not change in schools, and schools cannot change unless the incentives to change and organizational capabilities of change are present. On the other hand, it is equally obvious that schools are not autonomous, self-contained organizations. They exist in and interact with an environment that at once constrains and nourishes them. The emergence of the preconditions necessary to organizational change in schools is conditioned by conditions within the schools' external environment. For example, the existence of power to change (as defined above) may well depend upon school decentralization and this can come only from decisions made at the school district level or perhaps at the State level. Similarly, schools import many of the material resources and much of the technical assistance needed in the execution of planned organizational change. If the environment does not contain the needed resources or technical expertise, a school's effort at planned change cannot succeed.

A third approach to educational change is through educational personnel development.[21] Whereas the R D & D model focuses upon the development and dissemination of innovations and the organizational development model focuses upon organizational and situational factors preconditioning change, this model focuses upon the attitudes, knowledge, and skills of teachers, administrators, and other educational personnel. Educational change is seen as a result of change either in the types of individuals recruited into and trained for the educational profession and/or change in the competency of existing

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[21] For example, Katz and Kahn observe:

> The major error in dealing with problems of organizational change both at the practical and theoretical level is to disregard the systemic properties of the organization and to confuse individual change with modifications in organizational variables, behavior related to such things as role relationships. . . . The confusion between individual and organizational change is due in part to the lack of precise terminology for distinguishing between behavior determined largely by structured roles within a system and behavior determined more directly by personality needs and values. The behavior of people in organizations

educational personnel. This model posits that if the right kind of people can be recruited into education and if they can be properly trained, desirable changes will occur within schools.

This model implies the following preconditions of educational change:

1. The existence of school personnel who are psychologically open to change or at least not hostile or resistant to change.

2. The existence of school personnel with the competencies requisite to their organizational roles and tasks.

3. The existence of school personnel representing a broader range of ethnic groups, social classes, and experiential backgrounds than is currently true of the educational profession.

The preconditions of change pointed to by the personnel development model are necessary preconditions of educational change leading to school reform but are not sufficient in themselves. The reason they are necessary conditions is obvious from the analysis in the previous section. The arguments for change (improvement) in the competency of school personnel was given as a necessary condition of reform. The reason the preconditions of educational personnel are not sufficient conditions of reform is twofold. First, as previously indicated, there are other necessary conditions of reform in addition to change in the competency of educational personnel. Secondly, change in the latter does not necessarily lead to other types of changes necessary to school reform. Because schools are formal organizations the behavior of individuals within them is determined by structural factors as well as by the attitudes and competencies possessed by teachers and administrators. As many critiques of the human relations approach to organizational change indicate, structural changes do not necessarily follow behavioral changes.[22]

> is still the behavior of individuals, but it has a different set of determinants. . . . Scientists and practitioners have assumed too often that an individual change will produce a corresponding organizational change. This assumption seems to us indefensible.

Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), pp. 390-91, 450-51.

[22] This is the model which would appear to inform such Federal programs as Triple T and Teacher Corps.

The fourth model of change--educational change as a political process--is less well developed than the previous three models but currently attracts a great deal of attention.[23] This model posits that educational change is a resultant of change in the distribution of political power within the educational system and in the power of the education interests in the society as a whole. Specifically the model asserts that reform producing educational change depends upon: (a) enhancing the power of the clients of schools--parents, students, community groups vis-à-vis school personnel, (b) enhancing the power of teachers vis-à-vis administrators and lay boards, (c) enhancing the power of schools as organizations vis-à-vis supporting institutions and organizations, for example, universities, R & D centers, central staff, State departments of education, etc., and (d) enhancing the power of educators vis-à-vis political authorities that allocate societal resources, e.g. State legislators and congressmen.[24]

The preconditions of educational change that are implied by this model appear to be:

1. An increase in the capacity of teachers to place demands on the managers of schools for supporting services and material resources, and for participation in policymaking.

2. An increase in the political capacity of schools to place demands upon institutions and organizations that service schools.

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[23] Needless to say there is no one single, agreed-upon model of educational change as political change. For example, teachers stress the need to enhance their power vis-à-vis administrators and on many occasions resist the expansion of power on the part of parents, students, and community groups.

[24] It is perhaps a mistake to refer to this as a model since there is no developed political theory of educational change. Some of the elements that might be encompassed in such a theory are found in many places, including Luvern L. Cunningham, *Governing Schools: New Approaches to Old Issues* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1971); Lawrence Iannaccone and Frank W. Lutz, *Politics, Power and Policy: The Governing of Local School Districts* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1970); Jay D. Scribner, "The Policy Maker and Educational Change," *The High School Journal*, Vol. 54 (February 1971), pp. 337-346; Jay D. Scribner, "The Politics of Educational Reform: Analysis of Political Demands," *Urban Education*, Vol. IV (1970), pp. 348-374; and Fred Wirt and Michael Kirst, *The Political Web of American Schools* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972).

3. An increase in the political capacity of the educational enterprise to place demands upon the larger political system for a larger share of societal resources and educational burdens.

The conditions of change posited by a model of educational change as political change are like the conditions posited by the other models in that they are necessary but are not sufficient conditions of change. They are necessary for the following reasons. It is doubtful that schools can meet their responsibilities without substantially expanding their organizational capabilities and this can be done only if they can increase their power to make demands upon the institutions and organizations that allegedly service the schools. Since reform producing change is expensive, it is doubtful that the necessary funds will be forthcoming in the absence of a change in the power of educators to make demands upon the public purse.

While necessary to change, a redistribution of political power is not a sufficient condition of reform producing educational change for a simple but basic reason. All kinds of demands can be placed upon organizations and institutions. Unless they have the technical resources, the organizational capabilities and competent personnel requisite to meeting the demands, the demands cannot be satisfied irrespective of their legitimacy or intensity. Redistributions of power in the absence of other changes result simply in political conflict, not school reform.

Each of the four alternative approaches to educational change is useful but partial. Each is useful in the sense that the model points to a set of conditions that appear to be necessary preconditions of educational change leading to school reform. The models are partial in that the conditions they posit are not by themselves sufficient conditions of reform generating change.

It is appropriate now to summarize the implications that flow from this analysis of the four models. First, it appears that one can distinguish between preconditions of educational change at three different levels of the educational enterprise. One level is that of the educational system as a whole. A second level is that of individual schools that comprise the system. A third level is that of individuals, particularly teachers and administrators. The first level is called "systemic," the second "organizational," and the third "individual." It is useful to distinguish between two types of preconditions of change at each of these levels, one termed technological preconditions and the other political preconditions.

These two sets of distinctions when combined yield a six-cell table for classifying and locating different preconditions of educational change.

	Technological Preconditions of Change	Political Preconditions of Change
Systemic Level	The existence of basic knowledge about: (a) school programs, (b) the competence of school personnel, (c) the social organization and culture of schools, (d) the governance of education, and (e) the political economy of school finance. The existence of innovations in each of these domains that are superior to the status quo. The existence of a communication system capable of disseminating relevant innovation to educational decisionmakers and practitioners.	The existence of means by which schools can place increased demands upon supporting institutions. The existence of means by which the educational system can place increased demands upon the political system.
Organizational Level	The existence of a plan for change that anticipates and provides for technical assistance and material resources needed by school personnel in changing roles and behaviors. The existence of financial resources necessary to develop and implement a plan of change. The existence of sufficient time for developing and implementing a plan of change.	The existence of incentives to change generated by a confluence of internal and external discontent with a school's performance. The existence of power to change in sense of freedom from external constraints that do not allow for any alteration in the status quo. The existence of leaders capable of mobilizing support for change and of providing social support when teachers and other personnel encounter difficulty in carrying out new roles and responsibilities.
Individual Level	The existence of school personnel with competencies requisite to the assumption of new roles and the execution of new responsibilities required by given innovations.	The existence of school personnel who are psychologically open to change or at least not overtly hostile or actively resistant to change. The existence of school personnel recruited from a broader range of ethnic groups, social class and experiential backgrounds.

Preconditions of Educational Change

Having specified two types of necessary preconditions of educational change (technological and political) at three levels of the educational enterprise (systemic, organizational, and individual), attention can now be turned to the second issue posed at the start of this section. This is: What is the relationship among different preconditions of educational change?

As in the discussion of the relationship among different domains of educational change, three logical possibilities can be distinguished. One is that the conditions of educational change are independent of one another. No relationship exists between the presence or absence of any given precondition and the presence or absence of any other precondition. While a logical possibility, this is empirically nonsensical.

A second possibility is that a network of powerful causal relationships link different conditions of change at different levels. There is no evidence that this is the case and no theoretical warrant to believe it should be. For example, the existence at the systemic level of new programs in teacher training does not bring into existence the organizational incentives or capabilities to adopt and implement such programs. The existence of demands on schools similarly does not generate the technological capacities to constructively respond to these demands. In short, the presence of technological preconditions of change is not a necessary and sufficient condition for the existence of political preconditions of change or vice versa. The same is true in respect to preconditions of change at the organizational level and the presence of the latter does not guarantee the presence of the necessary preconditions of change at the individual level or vice versa.

The third possibility is that the different preconditions of change are interlinked in a network of dependent and interdependent relationships. This alternative appears to best match reality. For example, a "slum" school with both the incentive and capability of individualizing its instructional programs cannot do so unless an appropriate program exists. In turn the existence of such a program depends upon the existence of requisite knowledge. The latter, along with the existence of motivation to develop such a program, depends in turn upon the political capacity of "slum" schools to place demands upon educational researchers and developers. To take another illustration, a given innovation--such as "open classrooms"--can be potentially available to a school but that innovation cannot be successfully implemented in the absence of teachers with particular competencies. In turn the development of such competencies depends upon the existence of leaders who can plan and organize an in-service training program cultivating the requisite competencies or employ a cadre of appropriately trained teachers. And in turn this depends in part upon the availability of relevant instructional materials.

This concludes a brief and obviously cursory discussion of the preconditions of educational change. The major points that have been made are as follows:

1. There is no single factor which is a sufficient condition of educational change leading to school reform.

2. There are both technical and political preconditions of educational change at each of three levels: the systemic, the organizational, and the individual.

3. Different preconditions of educational change are functionally but not causally related to one another.

4. Present knowledge of the processes and dynamics of educational change and hence of the preconditions of change is limited and rudimentary.

School Reform and Public Policy

In the two previous sections, two general arguments have been set forth. Change in five major domains of education are necessary conditions of school reform. A constellation of technological and political factors at systemic, organizational, and individual levels are preconditions of reform producing change. Next comes a fourfold argument on the relation of public policy to all of this.

There is no simple and direct relationship between school reform and public policy or between policy and educational change. Reform cannot be mandated into existence by public authorities nor can the latter decree that educational change occur. The only phenomena over which policymakers have any direct control or influence are factors that constitute preconditions of educational change, such as level of knowledge, adequacy of communication networks, distribution of power, etc.

Policymakers potentially have three power resources available to them for influencing the preconditions of educational change. These are (a) money, (b) authority, and (c) political influence. Money can be allocated to people within or outside of schools to develop change creating programs. Authority can be used to alter formal and legal structures (such as school district consolidation, decentralization, etc.) and to modify the legal norms that govern the educational system, such as certification requirements, mandated courses, etc. In any given situation a given policymaker may have neither money nor authority; but he may have political influence in the sense of an ability to influence other policymakers who do have money and/or authority.

These power resources are not equally relevant to each and every precondition of educational change. For example, there is a relatively direct relationship between the possession of money and the ability to effect some change in level of basic knowledge. On the other hand, the relationship between the possession of money and ability to effect changes in the distribution of power in the educational system is relatively indirect. The same is true of authority. For example, the possession of legal authority on the part of a school board to decentralize the management and governance of schools is directly related to the presence or absence of "freedom to change" on the part of local schools. That authority has no direct relationship to the presence or absence of leadership within local schools capable of mobilizing resources in support of change.

In the American educational system, power resources are not concentrated in any one set of policymakers. Apart from aspects of school operation that involve constitutional issues such as racial segregation, authority to effect change in organizational structures and in the laws and directives governing educational personnel tends to reside at the State level. Money to effect change tends to be located at the State and national levels. Political influence to effect policymakers with authority and/or money at State and national levels tends to be concentrated at the local level.

The discussion of the preceding four points has been brief but it is sufficient to point up a set of factors that have significant implications for the design of a strategy of school reform.

In the three previous sections, three sets of issues were treated. These were:

1. What is the relationship between school reform and educational change?

2. What are the preconditions of educational change?

3. What is the relationship of a public policy to the preconditions of educational change?

Emerging from the analysis of these three issues are a series of conclusions which have significant implications for the design of a strategy of reform. The conclusions are:

1. There is no one single domain of educational change which is a sufficient condition of school reform.

2. Change in each of five domains--in school programs, in the competency of school personnel, in the social organization and culture of schools, in the governance of education, and in the political economy of school finance--is a necessary condition of school reform.

3. Changes in the five domains are functionally but not causally related.

4. It is impossible to know a priori if the necessary conditions of school reform taken collectively constitute a sufficient condition of reform.

5. There is no single factor that is a sufficient precondition of educational change leading to school reform.

6. There are both technical and political preconditions of educational change at each of three levels, at the level of the educational system as a whole, at the level of schools as organizations, and at the level of school personnel as individuals.

7. The different preconditions of educational change are functionally but not causally related.

8. Present knowledge of the processes and dynamics of educational change and hence of the preconditions of change is limited and rudimentary.

9. The makers of public policy effect educational change by effecting the preconditions of change.

10. The power resources available to policymakers in effecting the preconditions of educational change--money, authority, and political influence--are fragmented and distributed among policymakers at local, State, and national levels.

From these conclusions flow a number of implications relevant to the development of a strategy of reform. These can be divided into two types. One type are conclusions about the kinds of reform policies that will not be effective. The other type are conclusions about the necessary elements of an effective strategy. First, a look at the former.

1. A strategy of reform that is targeted on inducing change in a single domain of the educational enterprise will not be effective.

This is a logical implication combining two of the conclusions noted above. These are: (a) there is no one single domain of educational change which is a sufficient condition of reform and (b) changes in different domains are functionally but not causally related.

2. A strategy of reform that is targeted solely on generating either the technological or political preconditions of educational change will not be effective.

This is implied by the conclusion that different preconditions of change are functionally but not causally related.

> 3. A strategy of reform that is targeted on generating the preconditions of change at only one level--systemic, organizational, or individual--will not be effective.

This is also implied by the conclusion that different preconditions of educational change are functionally but not causally related.

> 4. A strategy of reform that is exclusively dependent upon power resources available to national-level policymakers will not be effective.

This is implied by the conclusion that the power resources necessary to effect the precondition of educational change are fragmented and distributed among policymakers at local, State, and national levels.

> 5. A strategy of reform that does not include provisions for experimentation and does not provide for continuous learning through feedback will likely not be effective.

This is implied by two conclusions. One is that it is impossible to know a priori if the necessary conditions of reform when combined constitute a sufficient condition of reform. The other is that knowledge of the processes, dynamics, and preconditions of educational change is very limited. Thus it is unlikely that a reform strategy that does not provide for continuous self-correcting adjustments as it unfolds will prove effective.

The second type of conclusions that flow from our analysis are conclusions about the necessary elements of an effective reform strategy.

> 1. A strategy of reform must include a policy which channels unusual levels of financial support into ineffective schools to be used by these schools in planning and implementing long-term and comprehensive programs in organizational development. These programs must provide for planned and coordinated changes in the schools' programs, and in the competence of school personnel, in the social organization and culture of the schools, and in school governance.

This policy, which we shall refer to as a policy for organizational development,[25] is implied by a combination of several conclusions noted above. First, reform is dependent upon change in each of five areas of the educational enterprise. Since the only point at which the five necessary conditions of reform converge is at the level of schools, an effective reform strategy must treat schools both as the smallest unit of change and as total institutions. Second, since change in school programs, the competence of school personnel, etc., are functionally but not causally related, effective change depends upon a coordinated plan for change. Third, the planning and implementation of a comprehensive, coordinated plan of organizational development requires financial resources well beyond the normal operating budgets of schools. Fourth, the planning and implementation of organizational development projects requires an extended period of time.

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[25] For an extended discussion of organizational development within schools see Richard A. Schmuck and Matthew B. Miles (Eds.), Organization Development in Schools (Palo Alto, California: National Press Books, 1971).

> 2. A strategy of reform must include a policy of support for research and development which has two primary thrusts. One is an R & D effort which is directly linked to a policy of organizational development. The other is an R & D effort focused upon the political economy of school finance.

This component of a reform strategy, which is labeled R & D policy, is implied by several conclusions that emerged from the analysis. Looking at the first thrust of an R & D policy--R & D efforts linked directly to school organizational development programs--this recommendation follows directly from two conclusions. First, schools undertaking long-term and comprehensive organizational development must look outside of themselves for much of the requisite material resources, intellectual resources and technical assistance. Second, the political capacity of schools to place demands upon supporting institutions (in this case the educational R & D community) must be enhanced.

For illustrative purposes imagine the following. Associated with a reasonably large cluster of schools with funded organizational development programs is a R & D operation. This operation would consist of a core R & D project surrounded by subsidiary projects. The central or core project would be staffed by specialists in organizational research and development. This core project would be supported by a combination of direct grants to the project and by funds acquired through performance contracts with schools involved in organizational development programs. Supporting the core project would be subsidiary R & D projects in each of five areas: (a) school programs, (b) personnel training and staff development, (c) school social organization and culture, (d) school governance, and (e) the utilization of financial resources. Each of these programs would be financed by a combination of direct support and indirect support through performance contracts with the core R & D program.

This example is clearly illustrative and adheres to the principle that an effective strategy of reform must include means through which relationships of interdependence can be created between schools that are undertaking organizational development projects on the one hand and the educational research and development community on the other hand.

The second thrust of an R & D policy is a national level research and development program focused upon the political economy of school finance. Since long-term and substantial change in all other domains of educational change depend upon change in the political economy of school finance, this area must be singled out for special effort. Research and development work is critically needed in at least three general areas: (a) the development and analysis of alternative models of financing American education, (b) the politics of change in school finance, and (c) the interrelationship of the economics of education on the one hand and the politics and governance of education on the other hand.

> 3. A strategy of reform must include a policy of support for the development of personnel training and staff development complexes that are linked to schools involved in organizational development projects, to R & D programs, to local undergraduate teacher training institutions, and to other schools not involved in funded development programs.

This component of a reform strategy shall be called a policy of personnel training and staff development[26] and is implied by a combination of conclusions. First, the existence of appropriate attitudes and competencies on the part of school personnel is a necessary condition of reform. Second, schools must enhance their ability to make demands upon supporting institutions. Third, more elaborate communication networks must be developed. Fourth, personnel training and staff development is one of the critical areas in which research and development efforts must be pushed. There is also a need to generate incentives or pressures to change on the part of schools and universities. The participation of staff in schools other than those involved in organizational development projects and the participation of undergraduate teacher trainees from local universities is seen as one means to this end.

> 4. A strategy of reform must include a program designed to stimulate and facilitate temporary "role exchanges" as well as less intense opportunities for mutual learning on the part of various types of educational personnel including educational policymakers at State and national levels.

This type of program is a policy of system integration implied by the following conclusions. One is the need to enhance communications among different role occupants within the educational enterprise and the other is the need to enhance the capacity of schools to place demands upon supporting institutions and organizations. A program explicitly designed to facilitate interaction through temporary role exchanges as well as through more conventional means of communications, e.g., conferences, visits, etc., would serve these ends.[27]

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[26] We envisage personnel training and staff development complexes as organizational operations that combine and blend many of the elements associated with the concept of training complexes outlined in Teachers for the Real World and the concept of teacher centers.

> 5. A strategy of reform must include a deliberate effort to build a national coalition of "reform oriented" school personnel and educational policymakers at local, State, and national levels.

This policy, which can be called a policy of coalition building, is implied by the fact that the power resources requisite to reform--money, authority and political influence--are fragmented and scattered among many individuals and groups. The formation of a self-conscious coalition--perhaps in the form of a national association for school reform which has professional leadership and staff support--could serve to enhance the degree of influence enjoyed by given policymakers vis-à-vis their own constituents. It could serve to strengthen the collective impact of the reform movement within the educational establishment and within the larger society.

> 6. A strategy of reform must be predicated upon a pilot approach to change in which educational change efforts are closely observed and evaluated by trained social scientists acting in roles of observers or participant observers and who are responsible for providing decisionmakers and the public at large with information about the process and impact of reform programs.

This component of a reform strategy, which is a policy of self-analysis, is implied by two conclusions. One is that it is not known *a priori* if the necessary conditions of school reform are collectively a sufficient condition of reform. The other is that knowledge about the process, dynamics and preconditions of educational change is very limited. Thus, as a strategy of reform is planned and as it unfolds, the component programs of that strategy should be carefully observed and the new knowledge that is acquired should be communicated to decisionmakers as a base on which to make changes and adjustments in given programs and simultaneously this knowledge should be made available to the general public as a base for making judgments about particular policies and programs.

This policy of self-examination could be implemented through requirements that all funded projects include provisions for systematic self-observation and that relevant information generated by these observations be continually collected and disseminated by a professional staff attached to a national association for school reform alluded to earlier in the discussion. The observers of particular projects and programs should be funded independently of the projects and programs themselves. They should be responsible to the staff of a national association who in turn would be responsible to the association itself.

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[27] For an interesting account of the experience of one professor of school administration who assumed a temporary principalship in an inner-city school see Luvern Cunningham, "Hey Man, You Our Principal?" in Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-18.

These particular details are included for illustrative purposes only. Again it is the principle of the argument, not the details, that should be supported.

Summary

This chapter has been concerned with the general issue: What public policy is needed to achieve substantial and widespread school reform? In the effort to deal with this question, three broad approaches to the problem of school reform were distinguished--a policy of "benign neglect," a policy of "muddling through," and a "strategic" policy; a brief rationale for the third was developed.

Three issues involved with the design of a strategic policy of school reform were explored. These were: (a) the relationship between school reform and educational change, (b) the preconditions of educational change, and (c) the relationship of public policy to the preconditions of educational change.

Emerging from this analysis were ten general conclusions whose implications for the design of a strategic policy of reform were spelled out. If the conclusions are correct, there are at least five possible approaches to a strategy of school reform that would not be effective. Then six necessary components of an effective strategy of reform were outlined. These are:

1. A policy of organizational development which is targeted on local schools most in need of reform.

2. A policy of research and development comprised of two thrusts: (a) research and development linked to organizational development, and (b) a special R & D program on the political economy of school finance.

3. A policy of personnel training and of staff development which is linked to both a policy of organizational development and a policy of research and development.

4. A policy of system integration.

5. A policy of coalition building.

6. A policy of self-examination.

Chapter 11

PILOT STUDIES, EVALUATION, AND TRANSFERABILITY

by

Bryce Hudgins
Washington University

This chapter is concerned with the procedures for implementing programs of school reform. Several fundamental arguments and recommendations are advanced. Principal among them is the argument that proposals for school reform should be tried out on a pilot basis, their effects analyzed, and the factors that weigh for and against their adoption assessed before large amounts of Federal money are authorized for their support on a wide basis. This recommendation issues from two chief points: Massive funding of programs to solve particular social problems has not always led to the reduction of the difficulty for which the remedy was proposed; and educational phenomena, including innovations that have received Federal support, are frequently little analyzed and poorly understood. The recommendation of this chapter for a program of pilot studies is not a plea for money for research. It is an argument that the process of school reform can move more surely and more effectively if the total resources available for them are directed first at the tryout of proposals for reform, the study and analysis of those proposals as they occur in the real world of the schools, the recommendation of planned variants stemming from careful initial study of the pilot, and further tryout and evaluation of these variants on a somewhat larger but still demonstration scale in what are styled "second-round pilot studies." The results of such studies should then lead to recommendations about large-scale funding of a given program on a nationwide basis. The belief is that this process of pilots and evaluation procedures will, on the average, strengthen the Nation's efforts to reform its public school system.

Many issues and problems must be addressed in the development of a program of pilot efforts. We will foreshadow the problems in this introductory section, and deal with each of them in more detail in the body of the chapter. Some assumptions must first be explicated. Pilot studies will be based upon proposals for changing or reforming the school. Proposals, however well-conceived and detailed they may be in exposition, cannot begin to foresee or describe the exigencies with which any pilot project will be confronted, once it is placed in operation. Sociologists refer to the unanticipated consequences and the unintended outcomes of programs that entail social change. Thus the essence of a pilot study is that it is exploratory, as opposed to experimental. Questions of interest are as much of the order, "How do the participants modify or redefine elements of the program to survive in the environment?" as are questions concerning the extent to which variables detailed in the plan of operation do in fact operate.

Indeed, we regard these latter issues of the degree of installation of a project to be more telling for second-round pilot studies than for its introduction. These assumptions have important implications for the concept of pilot studies developed here, and for the concept of their assessment or evaluation.

Another set of assumptions concerns the mechanisms by which pilot studies are sanctioned and installed. We have assumed that a pilot program has a greater likelihood of success if it creates a need for as little new administrative machinery as possible, and if it passes through the decisionmaking apparatus and channels of control of those agencies and offices that have been created for larger purposes that would subsume activities such as the installation, evaluation, and diffusion of pilot projects. This assumption will have the consequence of lessening direct Federal bureaucratic control over details of such items as pilot site selection, project personnel, and related issues. But it will result in a much broader basis of support for, participation in, and ultimate success of the pilot program, than if direct control were maintained between the Federal funding agency and individual pilot project directors.

A third and critical assumption is that effective school reform can probably be achieved more quickly through the gradualist, reflective strategy of a pilot program than through the continuation of frontal assaults upon school change. Later in this chapter, the year 1985 is identified as the target year for the achievement of major reforms of the school. If one accepts such a target date, and also accepts the strategy of piloting as a vehicle for trying, assessing, and building tested models of school reform, then we think the outcomes for the Nation's schools by that time can be far superior to what they would be if resources continue to be placed into widespread installation of plausible-sounding ideas, about which very little is known in advance of their implementation. The strategy for pilot programs that we recommend is a gradualist one. An idea about reform would first be tried out, perhaps in only one or a few settings. It would be studied and analyzed in great detail. Several years after its inception, variations of it--capitalizing upon its most workable components, and adding others that seem to have sufficient merit to be tested--would be implemented on a somewhat larger, but still pilot basis. Those second-round pilots that demonstrate an effective capacity to bring about reform would then be validated procedures, strategies for change that, if installed on a broad scale, could be expected to work very well. If this strategy is adopted, it should be with the full recognition that first-round pilot studies that are introduced as early as 1974 may not generate fully tested and validated procedures for reform before 1980. The strategy will obviously have little appeal for the reformer who is in a hurry to bring about dramatic change in the schools. If, as we think, a decade is not too long a time to invest in the process of seeking out and validating effective proposals for reform, the gradualist strategy of pilot studies seems to hold promise for the future.

Within the framework of these assumptions, then, we shall attempt to work out a concept of pilot studies and of factors that enter into judgments about their adequacy. To achieve this, we must confront questions that deal with the resources to be assigned to pilot studies, criteria for selecting proposals for first-round pilot support, and general exploration of the responsibilities and obligations that accrue to the funding agency and to the recipients of those funds. A backlog of experience with the development and operation pilot studies will no doubt reveal the inadequacies of this first effort to raise questions and propose courses of action.

School Reform as Inquiry Rather than Assertion

The practice of education has traditionally been constructed upon educators' views of the nature of man--what he should be, and what he is capable of becoming. To some extent, scientific knowledge about children and adolescents has been translated crudely into approaches to education. Basically, educational practice--the conduct of schooling--has been a highly empirical process. As such, its practitioners have relied more heavily upon knowledge generated at the level of a craft than that which stems from the theories, laws, and even the data of the disciplines that hypothetically undergird the practice of education; that is, the social sciences and philosophy. Formulations about how education should be conducted are thus more likely to involve assertions based upon past personal experience with the institution of schooling than they are to reflect the tentative, hypothetical mode of inquiry represented by the behavioral sciences. We would suggest that an attitude of inquiry is fundamental to the successful conduct of a pilot strategy of school reform.

Campbell[1] constructs an argument close to what we intend in his discussion of "trapped" versus "experimental" administrators. The trapped administrator is one who places himself in a position where his tenure in office (or at least the confidence of his constituency) hinges upon successful outcomes emanating from the program of reforms that he has advocated. If the position of a leader or administrator depends upon the success of the particular reform he has advocated, he cannot afford to call for open and thorough evaluation processes, especially if there is any likelihood that such an evaluation would reflect failure of his programs.

On the other hand, the "experimental administrator" begins with an inquiry attitude. "Program A will be tried for x period of time. If at the end of that time, it has not proved itself, we will shift to Program B." Thus, Campbell suggests, the emphasis can be placed upon approaches to the solution of problems rather than targeting administrators as villains in the event that reform does not live up to expectations. Notice, also, that the experimental stance should free the administrator (or other advocate) from "over-selling" his program in advance, as is likely to happen when alternatives between programs are settled on the basis of who has the greatest net quantity of control.

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[1] D. T. Campbell, "Reform as Experiments," American Psychologist, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1969), pp. 409-429.

There is an important corollary to be considered in connection with the discussion of personal advocacy of programs versus inquiry models of examining alternatives. If the decisionmaker starts from the position that the program he recommends is "good" and will produce "benefits" for the population with which he is concerned, his tendency will be to extend the program to as large a proportion of the population as his resources can be made to accommodate. There are several difficulties attendant upon such a practice. First, large amounts of money may be wasted if the outcomes are unsuccessful, or harmful--though the latter is rarely a serious hazard in educational practice. Second, stretching the resources to make it possible for many agencies or individuals to participate can doom the entire program to failure by spreading resources too thinly. Finally, since one was confident that the program would succeed, evaluations tend to be sketchy or nonexistent, and in the end, the program's initiator is in a sorry position. He has a filing program on which large amounts of money, interest, and publicity have been lavished. He may have few or no good reasons for the failure of the program. We must recognize, however, that if the program generally succeeds, the decisionmaker has delivered important benefits to a vast number of people in a short period of time. For the entrepreneurial decisionmaker who is inclined to have great confidence in his own judgment and ability, the chance to deliver effectively, perhaps even at the national level, is extremely attractive. The inquiry-oriented model of pilot studies that we recommend is slower, and much less glamorous, although in the end the payoffs for society can be many times larger.

Results of Large-Scale Efforts to Change Schooling[2]

The RAND analysis of large-scale intervention programs undertaken has been restricted largely to two of the major efforts to provide compensatory education for children from minority groups, Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and Project Head Start. Although the weight of the evidence reviewed by RAND points to disappointing outcomes of these two national programs, we are aware that the issues are extremely complex, and that simple generalizations about the value of either of the programs would be misleading. For example, the RAND study cites reviews of achievement of large samples of children who have participated in Title I projects across the Nation, with the conclusion that the money invested in these projects has produced little or no ameliorative effect upon academic achievement (particularly in the area of reading). Cohen,[3] however, observes that Title I is a political program, which is not tied to any standards of academic achievement for continued funding, and to assess it upon the basis of achievement is to misconstrue the purpose of the program. We indicate this conflict, not to evaluate the validity of either position, but to highlight the complexity of the problem. And as we pointed out earlier, significant reform generally takes many years to occur, and it may be that the real impact of these programs cannot be evaluated for a decade or so.

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[2] This discussion is based upon the recent report, How Effective Is Schooling?, prepared for the President's Commission on School Finance, by RAND Corporation, March, 1972. Page references in the text are keyed to quotations from that document.

By way of brief review, Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, authorizes the expenditure of Federal funds to provide compensatory education for children in disadvantaged communities. A school district's proposal for funds must be approved at the State level (usually by the State Department of Education). The annual appropriation for Title I programs reached a level of about $1.8 billion for FY 74. The following statements are taken from the RAND report. The documents cited in these quotations are annual reports to the U. S. Office of Education about the results of the national Title I program.

> The most pessimistic findings come from the Title I surveys...We do not attempt to summarize the results of each of these studies separately because they are all quite consistent in their findings. The following quotations are representative:
>
> An analysis of the reading achievement scores of 155,000 participants of 189 Title I projects during the school year ending in June, 1967 indicates that a child who participated in a Title I project had only a 19% chance of a significant achievement gain, a 13% chance of a significant loss, and a 68% chance of no change at all (Report for Fiscal Year 1967).
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> For participating and non-participating pupils, the rate of progress in reading skills kept pace with their historical rate of progress...Compensatory reading programs did not seem to overcome the reading deficiencies that stem from poverty (Report for Fiscal Year 1968).

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[3] D. K. Cohen, "Politics and Research: Evaluation of Social Action Programs In Education," Review of Educational Research, Vol. 40, No. 2 (1970), pp. 213-238.

> It will be noted in the following reports of analyses that all outcome data indicated a distinctly higher than average reading gain for participants than for non-participants (Report for Fiscal Year 1970).
>
> Participants in the compensatory programs continued to show declines in average yearly achievement in comparison to non-participants who included advantaged and nondisadvantaged pupils. . .It was not possible from these data to determine whether participants in compensatory programs showed a reduced decline in average yearly achievement (Report for Fiscal Year 1970).
>
> These findings all are qualified heavily in subsequent discussion by the study authors. . .Nevertheless. . .all the findings themselves are consistently negative.[4]

Results of evaluation of Head Start and Follow Through (extension of Head Start into the primary grades) are mixed. In general if Head Start children show improvements over counterpart (nonproject children), the differences tend to disappear after a year or two of public school. Some Follow Through children do significantly better in school than control children do, but there is a question that this difference may be an artifact of differences in the initial achievement status of the children.[5]

To balance this picture, it must be added that the evaluations of many of the projects are of dubious validity. Thus, real accomplishments of the projects may be obscured. When studies of a smaller scale have been designed for purposes of research, results have tended to be clearer and more positive.[6]

We close this discussion with quotations from the statement of conclusions about large-scale compensatory education programs drawn by the RAND authors.

> Virtually without exception, all of the large surveys of the large national compensatory education programs have shown no beneficial results on average. However, the evaluation reports on which the surveys are based are often poor and research designs suspect.

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[4] H. A. Averch, S. J. Carroll, T. S. Donaldson, H. J. Kiesling, and H. Pincus, How Effective Is Schooling? A Critical Review and Synthesis of Research Findings. Prepared for President's Commission on School Finance (Santa Monica: RAND, 1972), pp. 102-103.

[5] Ibid., pp. 103-105.

[6] Ibid., pp. 110-114.

> Two or three smaller surveys tend to show modest and positive effects of compensatory education programs in the short run.
>
> A number of intervention programs have been designed quite carefully and display gains in pupil cognitive performance, again in the short run. In particular, pupils from the more disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds tend to show greater progress in more highly structured programs. (Programs that are highly structured are those in which the sequencing of the children's experiences is heavily organized externally).
>
> There is considerable evidence that many of the short run gains from educational intervention programs fade away after two or three years if they are not reinforced. Also, this "fade out" is more unlike regular public school practice.
>
> It would appear that incremental per pupil costs of successful education intervention vary anywhere from \$200 on up, with the "feasible range" for such programs falling between \$250 and \$350. However, numerous interventions funded at these levels have failed. Clearly the level of funding is not itself a sufficient condition for success.[7]

Admittedly the preceding discussion and quotations are illustrative of some of the effects of some heavily supported and widely distributed programs. The results cited are not definitive, nor do we wish to interpret them as though they were so. But when it can be shown that heavy infusions of public money have brought about little either in lasting results, or in informative feedback, recommendation of an alternative approach to intervention in the reform of the schools is in order.

The Case for Pilot Studies

In the opening pages of this chapter, we began to describe what is intended by the term "pilot study." We also suggested that a pilot project might go through two major phases, or "rounds," one in which the basic elements of the proposal are lived through, and modified, and a second in which the more promising variants of any given pilot project are tried out in a number of settings. It is time now that we more fully develop the concept of the pilot study. A pilot study is a real but small-scale installation of a proposal or set of proposals for school reform. An initial pilot project would probably be installed in a single school (or other unit of analysis, depending upon the substance of the project). As an illustration, let us suppose that a proposal has been accepted to improve the reading skills of children in the primary grades of inner-city schools, and that the elementary school is to be reorganized toward achieving that goal. The proposal may call for a new program of inservice training for the teachers who will be expected to provide individualized instruction in reading, draw upon the services of reading consultants, and use the hands and energies of paraprofessional workers.

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

Before such a proposal would be accepted, or any efforts made to install it, much more detail and precision would be called for than we have time or space to delineate here. Reasonable consideration would have to be given to changes in the teachers' role, new equipment, facilities, and materials, and articulation of the scheduling of pupils, since the entire process of classroom organizations and large group instruction would be dramatically altered. How administrative personnel fit into the new structure would have to be examined. What consequences ensue from the reaction of the broader school district and the community in which the school resides?

The essential characteristics of a first-round, or initial pilot study, are that adequate time and resources would be provided to the chosen pilot site to permit the participants to install the project as fully as they are capable of doing. At the same time, it is never possible to anticipate all the consequences, all the elements of change that will be incompatible with one another. An important part of the initial pilot study is that participants would have time and opportunity to adjust, or materially alter original parts of the plan. At various stages in the chapter, we comment upon the conditions that would be required to allow this strategy to work, and to be properly recorded so that we might know what the interior workings of the pilot are.

After an initial pilot project has been in operation long enough to be fully installed and functioning as effectively as possible, a judgment would be made as to whether the project should be terminated, or whether variants of it might now be constructed to be tested on a more extensive, but pilot basis. The variants, or second-round pilot projects, would be designed to yield more refined information about different combinations of elements, or the addition or deletion of elements that were tried with apparent success or failure in initial projects. For example, in our hypothetical illustration, let us further suppose that teachers have found the inservice education program particularly unrewarding. Second-round, or variant studies, would presumably entertain different approaches to this particular aspect of the project. One variant might involve the teachers in developing their own inservice program, drawing upon district supervisors or outside consultants as they felt the need for such help. In another variation, teachers might teach in grade-level teams, and operate only an ad hoc inservice education program, cooperatively attempting to solve diagnostic or instructional problems as they arose. One significant difference between second-round pilot studies and their progenitors would be the greater necessity, in the former, that the agreed upon variants, be fully installed and maintained for the duration of the pilot. A second characteristic that sharply differentiates second-round from initial pilot projects is a greater emphasis in the second-round studies upon conditions of the project that mitigate for or against its more general diffusion and installation.

In general, first-round pilot projects confront the broad question: Can this proposal for school reform be implemented: What are the things that participants have to change to make it work? Does the proposal, broadly conceived, have the potential for leading to the outcomes for the target population that were envisioned in its outline? What elements of the original program might be improved by being changed? And what are some ways in which they can be altered and tried out in a different setting?

Second-round pilot studies, on the other hand, demand perhaps more precision in their original delineation, and greater concern that the changes they describe be adhered to for the duration of the project. Where initial project concern is, "Can the basic idea be made to work *at all?*" the concern of second-round pilots is for th[illegible]estion, "How flawlessly does this arrangement work in this situation, and how easy or difficult would it be to modify it to work in a variety of similar settings?" Each pilot phase could be terminated at the time those basic questions can be answered. In combination, an initial pilot and its several variants would be expected to encompass a period of four-to-six or even seven years.

It is vital to note that pilot studies are *not* conceived of as experiments, at least in the classical sense of that term. We prefer to regard pilot studies as explorations, in the same manner that Marris and Rein[8] cast the projects financed during the 1960's by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. The designs of many of the projects in that program were experimental in nature, with the consequence that research and program goals were consistently in conflict with each other. Experiments demand faithful obedience to prearranged treatment conditions, but social "explorations" (as Marris and Rein appropriately dub the reform efforts of their analysis) cannot survive under such rigid dictates.

> They (the experiments) were not demonstrations but exploration of the possibilities of reform. And exploration makes use of information at levels of analysis which differ radically from an experimental design. Most immediately, progress depends upon a

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[8] P. Marris and M. Rein, *Dilemmas of Social Reform: Poverty and Community Action in the United States* (New York: Atherton Press, 1967).

> continued feedback of information from the field of operation. As each step is taken, its consequences become part of the situation from which the next step must evolve. The projects needed to know, from week to week, how each of the programs was going. . . . The discrimination of these clues to action calls for an imaginative serial analysis which can be rapidly communicated. But because it is pragmatic and flexible, an exploration also needs to be retrospectively interpreted, in a different manner from an experiment. The final outcome cannot simply be related to the initial aim and method, since these have undergone continual revision. The whole process--the false starts, frustrations, adaptions, the successive recasting of intentions, the detour and conflicts--needs to be comprehended. Only then can we understand what has been achieved, and learn from the experience. Research in this sense is contemporary history.[9]

We shall have more to say on these points in our discussion, particularly of the evaluation of initial pilot projects. The distinction that Marris and Rein draw between experiment and exploration seems to us precisely to reflect our notion of how initial pilot projects must develop, and the latitude they must enjoy if they are to achieve fruition.

Criteria for the Selection of Pilot Projects

Pilot studies must meet numerous criteria if they are to be supported by the Federal Government. It will not always be possible to supply a firm evidential base for a proposed pilot, but a line of reasoning should make explicit the proposer's hypothesis, or the relationships anticipated between changes in the system of the school and outcomes for pupils.

It is of paramount importance that the proposed pilot study specify the target population to which its effort would be directed. Although all school populations are legitimate targets for pilots, priority will be given to populations who have had the least educational opportunity and whose schools are in the most urgent need of reform.

The pilot proposal should include a statement of the outcomes for pupils that are anticipated by the end of the pilot project. The span of time to be required for the installation and operation of the pilot should also be indicated. The outcomes should be carefully related to the fundamental schooling needs of the population that is represented by pupils of the potential pilot site. Again, priority would be given to proposals that are aimed at more central and documented schooling needs of the target population, as these have been identified in Part I of this document. Ordinarily, we would anticipate that priority would be assigned to pilot projects that are aimed at the improvement of target children's ability in the basic skills--reading, writing, computing, and the like.

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[9] Ibid., pp. 206-207.

Reform is not a process that one person or group can impose upon another. Those who are to be involved in a pilot study aimed at school reform must be participants in the process, at least to the degree of being willing to attempt the changes delineated by the project. Perhaps the point is too obvious to require comment, but any pilot study that is to receive Federal funds must surely provide detailed information about the degree of involvement and openness to explorations of change that characterize the target school, its administration, and the broader school district and community in which the school is housed.

How the pilot study is to be evaluated becomes a critical part of the proposal and of the decision to approve a pilot installation. The details of the evaluation process are worked out in detail later in the chapter, but we can note here that at a minimum a successful proposal must contain information about several dimensions of evaluation. One of these is the achievement variables to be measured, the tests and procedures to be used in their assessment, and the criteria of practical significance to be employed in judging and interpreting results. Such a criterion might be defined as the proportion of pupils in a target school who demonstrate a given amount of improvement in achievement in a unit of time, or the average achievement gain for pupils at each grade level, or some variant of these. However, in general the criteria selected should reflect achievement gains (or losses) of the target population in relation to gains for the total population. Also in general, more traditional criteria of statistical significance are to be eschewed, at least as principal indicators of the project's outcomes. Put bluntly, the interests of reform studies center upon the magnitude of increments in achievement gained by selected populations that formerly have suffered from deficiencies in achievement, and not in statements of the probability that an obtained change is a matter of chance.

Additional coverage of evaluation procedures should include provisions for assessing the extent to which a project is installed as planned, and for the observation and analysis of pilot projects in operation.

Resources for the Support of Pilot Studies

One of the chief purposes for conducting pilot studies is to establish whether a given combination of changes in the organization and delivery of schooling leads to outcomes for the target population as envisioned by the reformer. There must be adequate resources provided that the pilot can be played out as it was intended to be. If resources are inadequate, then some (or all) elements of the reform effort will be curtailed. As a result, the pilot study perhaps fails to deliver some or all of the outcomes provided. But there is then no way of finding out whether the strategy of reform was at fault, or simply that once again a lack of resources diminished the success of an otherwise good and viable idea about schooling. When this happens, in one sense, whatever money was invested is wasted, since the society derives neither the benefit or the hoped-for achievements, nor any dependable knowledge about what the promise of the proposed reform strategy is.

Similarly, the funding agency must be prepared to allot a reasonable, even generous, period of time, for the pilot study to unfold its tale. If a pilot involves, for example, dramatic re-arrangements of the adult social system of the school (as in team teaching, or differentiated staffing patterns), and this is combined with a new and extensive program of inservice education for teachers, centering upon a new curriculum, instructional materials, strategy, or all of these, a period of one or two years may elapse before all the elements can be redefined in operational form and installed. An additional period of one, two, perhaps even three years may be required before the pilot project can deliver the services and effect the positive outcomes among pupils of which the particular combination of innovations is capable. Evaluative and analytical studies of the project must be conducted throughout that period of years. As we argue later, the record of events that can come from effective study of pilots is one of their most useful by-products. But we would urge against the use of data for making decisions prematurely to terminate a pilot study.

Control and Management of Pilot Studies

How the decision is made whether the control of pilot studies should be highly centralized or broadly decentralized will have major consequences for a national program of pilot projects. There is a first temptation to argue for strong central control of the program. Under such an arrangement, it would appear to be possible to have an orderly development of projects around specific centers of interest, such as in the systematic variation of patterns of school management, patterns of staff utilization, or other dimensions, from which fairly neat packages of information should begin to emerge within four or five years. The Office of Education could presumably develop guidelines and specifications for pilot project demonstrations, identify its priorities by target populations, areas of achievement, etc., and use traditional type external review panels to recommend proposals for support. Lines of authority would extend from the Office of Education directly to the local education agency or university, or other local fiscal agent.

An alternative arrangement would be to establish funding relationships from the Office of Education to the States. The same guidelines could be established as in the first arrangement, but the selection of pilot sites and projects would become the responsibility of the State education department. A variation of this pattern, which stems from our recommendation that pilot projects be extended through two rounds, each fulfilling different functions, is to allocate the responsibility for selecting first-round pilot projects to technical teams which would operate through the network of Regional Educational Laboratories.

The second alternative appears to be the more viable one. Why? Let us begin with the notion introduced last, the role of regional laboratories in the selection of initial pilot sites. The National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development[10] has recommended that a series of some fifteen to twenty pilot sites be selected immediately. Except for suggesting that issues of geographical distribution be ignored for the purpose, that proposal does not explore the issue of site selection, the review processes, and other elements of decisionmaking machinery. Regional laboratories are functioning organizations which have now been in operation well over five years. The development of technical teams for purposes such as evaluating pilot projects proposals, selecting initial sites, under their aegis should pose no severe problems, given some budget allocations to defray the necessary expenses that would be incurred. The laboratories are distributed nationwide, so that no special consideration would be required to obtain a reasonable geographic distribution of first-round pilot sites.

At the same time that first-round pilot sites are selected, State departments could be given planning grants, congruent with Office of Education guidelines, to develop preliminary descriptions of what second-round pilot studies would be. Later, when decisions are firm that second-round pilots are to be conducted, the State department using Federal funds supplied for the purpose, could select pilot sites within its own State. Planned variations and concerns about the transferability of programs are the special emphases of second-round pilot studies. At a very simple level, the State departments are closer to events within school districts of their own States than the Office of Education. This should mean that both sites can be selected where the conditions for their success are reasonably good, and that sites and particular variations can be better matched than would be the case with more central and remote control of the program. Finally, if we assume that the ultimate goal of developing and validating pilot projects is to have them ready for installation on a very broad scale, then it seems a sensible policy for the States to be involved in deciding which schools should participate in pilot efforts. Agents of the State should be in a favorable position to identify key districts and schools that are strategically situated to facilitate broader scale adoption of projects.

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[10] National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development, Windows to the Bureaucracy (Washington, D. C., 1972).

First-Round Pilot Studies and Evaluation

By the time the decision to implement a first-round pilot study has been made, a variety of issues has already been considered and cared for, as described in the preceding paragraphs. However, the actual installation and operation of the pilot involve numerous additional problems and considerations. Once the pilot project is launched, it becomes "real life" for those involved in it; the teachers, administrators, pupils, the school district and community that constitute it, the external environment, and for the evaluation staff who will chronicle the events of the pilot study.

At that point, the project leaves the stipulations, recommendations, and prescriptions of its written documents behind, and takes on the flesh and blood of reality. The actors now are confronted with the tasks of trying to induce desired improvement through the vehicles of reform agreed to previously. If teachers are to team together, or if they are to deal on an individual basis with pupils, the moment arrives when the team must begin to function, and when the teacher must confront that first pupil to begin the actual diagnosing, prescribing, and treating.

From that moment forward, the pilot staff begins the process, often an arduous and even painful one, of discovering the weaknesses in the original project plan. It may be that teams of teachers find they cannot team together cooperatively, or some team members are so threatened by ambiguity and elements of competitiveness that they are ineffective, and pressures begin to mount to dilute the extensiveness of the planned changes. Smith and Keith,[11] for example, who studied a highly innovative elementary school in its first year of operation, reported that within a few days of the opening of school, the organization of teaching had retreated heavily toward self-contained classrooms, a sharp departure from the elaborate plans for team teaching that were originally envisioned.

What one makes of disparities of the type illustrated above depends largely upon the assumed functions of that study. Our fundamental assumption is that a pilot study, a first-round pilot study in particular, should reveal the functionings and malfunctionings of original proposals for school reform. These proposals have already been judged as "good" in the sense of involving principles for change. The state of knowledge about how human organizations can be altered to produce specific outcomes is not complete enough to enable us to write precision specifications in the way that an architect can draw plans for a building. Indeed if we were that knowledgeable, no need for pilot studies would exist.

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[11] L. M. Smith and P. Keith, Anatomy of Educational Innovation: Organizational Analysis of an Elementary School (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1971).

We can learn from pilot studies how practicable are our hypothesized means for inducing change. It seems imperative that participants in first-round pilot studies have wide latitude for departing from original plans, or modifying them, in order to be able to function adequately. Ways of behaving that might lead to improved pupil outcomes, but which are not conducive to ways that teachers, administrators, or others can play their respective roles, will not be implemented. Our knowledge, at this stage of development, may be helped much more by allowing role incumbents to redefine or restructure roles in ways that make them livable, rather than trying to maintain rigid adherence to an earlier conception of the role. This is part of the conception of a pilot study as exploratory rather than experimental.

Since the principal justification for pilot studies is to learn whether the innovative practices or organizational patterns they represent achieve their stated purposes, evaluation is a critical and an integral element of each pilot study. In general, two kinds of evaluation studies are envisioned. Both may be thought of as process evaluations, since they examine the internal functionings of the projects, but their purposes are quite different.

One form of evaluation, exemplified by Provus' discrepancy model[12] which is particularly suited for second-round pilot studies, is critical. We shall withhold further comment about this model of the evaluation process for the subsequent discussion of second-round pilot studies.

Initial pilot projects require another kind of evaluation, or at least a relatively greater emphasis upon another kind of evaluation. This may be called case study analysis, or it may be cast in the more sophisticated language of ethnography. The label is immaterial but the substance of the process, and what it communicates about the functioning of the pilot project, is most significant. A principal responsibility of the evaluator of first-round pilot projects is to observe, record, and interpret significant events in the development of the pilot in action. Such records, together with their subsequent analysis and interpretation, constitute an indispensable part of the process of understanding school reform. Such records and analyses furnish a basis for judgments about the viability of a given pilot formulation. They help us to understand not only what it was within a pilot that succeeded or failed, but can also provide us with hypotheses about why events proceeded as they did. This element of first-round pilot projects evaluation provides the raw material for the design of planned variants among second-round pilot studies. That is, the results of a single pilot study are seldom definitive about how a program can be improved. Their analysis can lead to hypotheses about changes and outcomes, but it cannot demonstrate or generate them. That is the task planned variation in second-round pilots. The hypotheses emerging from the evaluation of first-round projects should materially enhance the probability that such projects will produce changes in schooling that approximate the outcomes for children that we wish to obtain.

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[12] M. Provus, "Evaluation of Ongoing Programs in the Public School System," in R. W. Tyler (Ed.), Educational Evaluation: New Roles, New Means, National Society for the Study of Education, 68th Yearbook, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

A brief quotation from the psychologist Maslow[13] will clarify what we mean by the case study of first-round pilot projects:

> In most cases (experimental programs and schools) we wind up with a retrospective story of the program, the faith, the confident expectations, but with inadequate accounts of just what was done, how, and when and of just what happened and didn't happen as a result. The real question is how we can make the best use of the "natural experiments" that result when some courageous enthusiast with faith in his ideas wants to "try something out" and is willing to gamble. If only they were good reporters, too, and regarded the "write-up" as a part of the commitment. This is just about the way the ethnologist works: he doesn't design, control, manipulate, or change anything. Ultimately he is simply a non-interfering observer and a good reporter.[14]

Smith and Keith[15] studied the Kensington School, a newly constructed, highly innovative elementary school, in just the terms Maslow uses to talk about the need for complete records of "educational experiments." Because the work of Smith and Keith as "noninterfering observers and good reporters" seems to us the essence of what should occur in the evaluation of first-round pilot projects, we shall briefly describe the procedures of their study, and illustrate it through one dimension of what Kensington sought to change--namely the innovation of team teaching.

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[13] A. H. Maslow, "Observing and Reporting Education Experiments," Humanist, Vol. 25 (1965), p. 13.

[14] Smith and Keith, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[15] Smith and Keith, op. cit.

Smith and Keith undertook to study the implementation of an innovative school. Kensington occupied a new building, which attempted to adapt itself to the overall purpose of the school--individualized instruction. As the investigators described it, the administration of Kensington School opted for a "strategy of grandeur"; that is, the implementation of a host of innovations in a single new school. As Smith and Keith relate its history, the fortunes of the Kensington School were sad, and in the end the school drifted toward becoming much more like other more traditional schools in the somewhat conservative lower-middle class community that it served.

Among the innovations to be employed by the school to achieve its principal goal was team teaching. The basic idea was straightforward. Teachers of each grade division (corresponding approximately to two pairs of grades; first and second, third and fourth, fifth and sixth) would cooperatively plan the educational program for and with approximately two hundred children. They would divide the labor of instruction so that each teacher would make his contribution to the education of the two hundred children attached to the division. Notes of observations and conversations with participants, recorded by Smith and Keith together with their conceptual analyses and interpretations, help provide an understanding of why the team-teaching program never functioned as it was intended to do.

The several difficulties that beset the original team do not lead to any easy generalizations about educational innovation, although linkages exist among several of the factors involved. The original plan had called for three teachers to be academic counselors, and four others to be resource persons in special fields (science, mathematics, language arts, and physical education). Several of the teachers had been trained as secondary school teachers, with specialized knowledge of content but lacking broad training in teaching a variety of subject matter areas, as most elementary teachers must do.

Before the opening of school, one member of the team was dismissed. He was replaced at the last moment by an individual who did not know whether he would be continued for more than a few days or weeks, and who consequently had difficulty becoming involved in team operations.

An additional element of the Kensington program was to be selection of academic activities by the children. They would make out programs of classes to attend. This imposed a heavy burden on independent planning on relatively young children. Almost from the first moment of school it was apparent that a sizable minority of the children would have to learn how to function with such autonomy. The staff decided to alter its original plan to the extent of creating one self-contained classroom to accommodate those children who could not function well independently. Of course that meant that one of the other academic counselors had to assume responsibility for teaching the class, and the personal resources of the team were further reduced. Differences in underlying attitudes about teaching and associated personality clashes resulted in the remaining group of teachers being divided into two teams, physically separated by a wall. One of these teams moved almost at once to a self-contained pattern, the other to a more departmentalized arrangement. Well before the close of the autumn semester of the first year, the summer dream of smoothly functioning teams of teachers and pupils was abandoned, in practice if not in public statements.

A combination of forces led to this outcome. We cannot take the time here to reproduce detailed analyses, but it is noteworthy that, as Smith and Keith observe, the seeds of this debacle were sown in the original objectives of the program. Both role specialization (selection of teachers with academic strengths in science and mathematics, for example) and faculty egalitarianism (shared decision-making among team members) were emphasized. The egalitarian notion had the function, among other consequences, of generating frequent and lengthy meetings of team personnel at the end of already long and hectic early days of school. These meetings not only added to the length of the teachers' working days, but they reflected underlying differences of opinion and value conflicts, which intensified the difficulties of teaming. As teams began to dissolve, teachers who were prepared to offer excellent programs in a single academic area found themselves in the quandary of having to provide a total elementary school curriculum for 25 or 30 children. With the absence of the usual sets of textbooks and other instructional materials (the original idea was that teachers in each area would select or create the proper materials for each child individually), these teachers found themselves in highly unenviable positions.

Our paraphrase of Smith and Keith's analysis of one dimension of this extremely complex story has been necessarily brief. It is not our intention to deplore the unhappy events at Kensington, far less to inveigh against innovations such as team teaching. The purpose, rather, is simply to indicate that the accounts and analyses provided by the ethnographers constitute an invaluable increment in our understanding of how the social system of the school operates in the face of massive change. We see little doubt, moreover, that the Smith and Keith records would be of great value if one wished to redesign the Kensington pilot, or to develop variations of it, as would be done in second-round pilot efforts.

Second-Round Pilot Projects

A second-round pilot study is a modification of a first-round project, installed in a new school or school district of an appropriate nature, which has indicated an interest in introducing reforms similar to those to be tested in a pilot project. Each first-round pilot study, unless it is terminated as an unsuccessful effort, should generate multiple second-round pilots. There are at least two reasons for this. One is the need to learn about the problems associated with installing a particular type of pilot effort. If second-round pilots of a given strand are introduced in several sites, perhaps in different States, some record can be developed of the problems of their installation, and trial solutions. Secondly, these pilot studies represent an opportunity to build variations into the original pilot plan--variations that have been suggested by analysis of the first-round pilot study.

If the Kensington project had been a first-round pilot study, several kinds of variations might have been developed for second-round studies. As indicated earlier, the designers of the Kensington project decided to open their school in full free-swinging innovative style from the first day. Thus, a goal of individualized instruction was to be achieved by the harmonious interaction of all the elements of building, staffing, curriculum, and instructional materials. Although the assumption may not have been recognized, and certainly it was not publicized, the success of the effort depended upon all of these elements working smoothly as individual entities, and meshing with little or no clashing of gears. If even fairly minor problems developed in a few elements, it seems that the whole system would be badly damaged.

One variation that would be well worth examining in a second-round pilot project is what Smith and Keith, borrowing from the work of Etzioni, call "gradualism: an alternative strategy." The gradualist strategy as the name implies begins with more limited efforts at change, consolidates those gains, and then extends change of the system once again, until the more complete reform effort has been achieved.

Other variations on the same pilot theme that might be considered planned variations would involve alternative operations of the same elements as those installed at Kensington. For example, one variation might deliberately build large blocks of planning time into the regular school day for the teachers. Another could examine the effect on team operations of having a leader, that is, avoiding teacher egalitarianism and totally shared decisionmaking. Still other variants might not alter the basic team arrangement, but use it in a more structured environment, for instance, one in which teachers had access to more standard instructional materials, and bore less responsibility for their individual creation of new materials.

We suggested earlier that second-round pilot studies require a different kind of evaluation than initial pilots. This, of course, is not an inflexible rule. If a second-round pilot effort to implement the gradualist strategy described above were attempted, for example, the kind of anthropological observation characteristic of the Kensington project would probably be required. When, however, the aim of a second-round pilot is to learn more about the effects of pupils of more carefully specified combinations of innovations, the emphasis of evaluation would be on monitoring the events of the pilot, and providing corrective feedback for purposes of decision-making. In the discussion of the second-round pilot evaluation that follows, we shall draw heavily upon the concept of the discrepancy model, developed by Provus.[16] This model assists the program director in knowing that his program is operating according to plan, or if it is not, where the discrepancies exist, and what options are available to eliminate them. A pervasive problem in studies of educational treatments has been the failure of investigators or program advocates to insure that the methods they define are carried out in the course of the program. When comparisons are made between, say, teachers who are supposedly teaching an element of arithmetic by one of two different methods, results frequently fail to reflect any differences in final level of learning on the part of the children who were instructed by the different methods. However, if the teachers have failed to follow their assigned teaching methods throughout the period of the demonstration or experiment, then the absence of differences among the teachers is the way they presented subject matter. This issue is a problem of some moment, and not apparently a matter of hairsplitting over whether procedures have been carried out to the finest detail. For instance, Provus[17] cites an evaluation report on team teaching carried out in one of the Nation's large city school systems. Some forty-seven projects were implemented, each of which was to follow the same pattern of teaming specified prior to the project. The report, however, shows that each team established a *different* pattern, thus negating any possibility of characterizing the effects of "team teaching," or of making meaningful comparisons between teams and other arrangements of teaching. Similarly, Provus, and others, have observed that the variation in methods of teaching *among* teachers in a project, all of whom are supposed to behave in the same way, is sometimes as great or greater than the differences in behavior between the project teachers and other nonproject teachers selected for purposes of comparison.

Provus has made the important observation that new programs do not emerge fullblown, but that they pass through a series of stages. The work of evaluating programs, then, must be responsive to these differences in stages. Although Provus was writing for the benefit of administrators and evaluators in large city school systems, the principles of his analysis have particular appeal to this discussion of the evaluation of pilot studies. New programs pass through four basic stages of development. These are: (1) definition, (2) installation, (3) process, and (4) product. A fifth stage of cost-benefit analysis is also possible after the program has passed through the first four stages.

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[16] Provus, *op. cit.*

[17] *Ibid.*

The outlines of evaluation appear much the same at each stage, but the content and the procedures used to conduct the evaluation are different. In essence, the evaluation asks at each stage if the performance observed within the program is congruent with the standards set for the program at that stage. For example, in Stage I, a stage of definition, the evaluative question is whether each component of the program has been clearly defined. The responsibility of the evaluation unit is to identify discrepancy, to collect and organize the alternatives available to repair that discrepancy, and to furnish these to the program director whose responsibility it is to select an alternative that best serves the purposes of the program.

At Stage II, although the general evaluation question is the same as before, its content now shifts to matters of installation. The broad question is whether the program is operating with standards set. This stage of evaluation work is of critical importance for several reasons. It is at this stage, more than at any other, that the members of the evaluation unit examine intensively the internal operations of the program. If teachers are not behaving in accordance with the definitions of the program, the evaluation unit must discover and report the finding immediately. At this stage, the concern is not whether pupils are learning what the program definition says they are to learn (that is a matter for later consideration) but whether teachers are providing the instruction that will hypothetically lead toward those pupil outcomes. Few evaluation studies in the past have paid appropriate attention to this issue of installation, and one wonders how many potentially good ideas about teaching have been phased out of business because reports of summative evaluation showed no difference between the pupils in experimental classes and those in control classes. To be sure, the evaluation work at this stage is difficult, for it involves making judgments about the congruence of observed teacher behavior with the specification drawn in the program definition. We would also extend this point beyond the limitations of an installation stage of a program. Some form of monitoring of the activities of crucial program personnel must continue throughout the life of the program, particularly if the type of teaching of a program calls for significant departures from the teacher's ordinary forms of instruction, and if they continue over extended periods of months or even years. In these cases there is a tendency of teachers to revert to their earlier and perhaps more comfortable forms of behavior. Obviously, if this happens, we would anticipate that there would be consequences for the final outcomes of pupils. At any rate, the final disposition of the evaluator would be to ascribe program outcomes to teacher behaviors, or to strategies of instruction, as these appear in the program definition.

In Stage III, the emphasis of the evaluation shifts to the broader development of concepts about the instructional process, and to the specifications and acquisition of base line data about pupil performance. It is during this stage that the evaluator begins to formulate the independent variables that he will employ in the experimental Stage IV, and to specify the measures that will be obtained to evaluate the independent program variables.

Stage IV is an experimental research stage in which the basic questions concern the achievement of the terminal objectives of the program. It is critical to note that evaluation is not introduced at this stage, but is one of the latest developmental stages of evaluation achieved. More effective experimental assessment of the impact of a program can be made at this time and for several reasons. There is now assurance that the several components of the program have been clearly defined, and that the program operates in congruence with those component definitions. At the minimum, a great deal should be known about any continuing discrepancy between program definition and program operation. Also, principally as an outcome of the work of Stage III, measures for both independent and dependent variables have been developed from a study of the program in operation.

Although Provus includes a Stage V cost benefit-analysis, he is clearly less optimistic than others about the contribution that such an analysis will make to educational decisions.

> This discussion is meaningful if the following conditions exist or can be established:
>
> 1. The programs that produce measurable benefits are sufficiently well defined to be replicable.
>
> 2. There is agreement on both the value and measure of benefit.
>
> 3. Antecedent conditions can be sufficiently well defined and measured to determine their effect on output.
>
> 4. At least two programs are in existence for which inputs have been "costed out," that share common benefits, and for which comparable data exist describing antecedent conditions.[18]

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[18] Provus, op. cit., p. 281.

Historically, the role of evaluation, when there has been one, has been dominated by that of the program developer. There are probably several reasons for this traditional role relationship. Frequently, when a funding agency has been involved, it is the program developer, the man with the original idea to be tested, who sought funding and assembled the team to develop the program. If evaluation has been involved, the program developer has employed the evaluator or the evaluative staff. At any rate, the program developer has been the "idea man," and evaluation has tended, not inappropriately, to follow along behind, tidying up the grounds, as it were.

If evaluation of pilot studies is to yield knowledge about new educational programs that will be of maximum value to decisionmakers, steps must be taken to insure that evaluation personnel are free to exercise their best professional and scientific talents in raising questions and seeking appropriate information to answer them. There are undoubtedly many specific ways in which this problem can be solved, but they all involve reposing authority in the evaluation unit. That authority must extend to issues that are properly within the province of the evaluator and which permit him to discharge his responsibilities in the role of evaluation. What we are describing would be a vast alteration justified by the special nature of pilot studies and their existence as vehicles for the production of dependable educational knowledge.

The Question of Transferability

In the final analysis, what we expect to emerge from fully installed and evaluated pilot studies is reliable knowledge that links school reform to the improvement of educational opportunity. By reliable knowledge we mean information that tells us the conditions of school reorganization, or the range and variety of conditions under which educational opportunity can be improved for a given target population.

The issue of transferability can be separated into two distinct but related topics. One of these we have already mentioned. It is essentially the topic of reproducibility of outcomes; that is, the extent to which repeated pilot studies on the same theme enable us to isolate school reforms that lead to given practical results. It is this issue that we shall explore more fully in the closing pages of this chapter.

The second issue is of no less emphasis, but it is more general, and must be a topic of concern for all kinds of innovations and changes, not just those emerging from pilot studies. That is the broader topic of the installation, or the dissemination and diffusion of innovative practices. Because the two topics are closely related we cannot altogether ignore diffusion in our discussion, but the central emphasis will be upon the question, "What are the conditions that make a pilot study transferable from the particular situations in which it has been tested to others in which it has not?"

If pilot studies are carried out in accordance with the discussion presented in the earlier sections of this chapter, several features of the project that are necessary to reproduce it could be reconstructed in a straightforward manner. For example, evaluation records would clearly state the purposes and definition of the program, the extent to which it was installed in the pilot tests, and what the major obstacles to thorough installation were if there were any. There would also be available full and complete accounts of how the reforms installed during the pilot stages affected the targeted achievement areas of pupils. For example, what percentage of pupils at each grade level in the pilot sites exceeded the gain to be expected on a national basis for a given unit of time (one semester, one year, two years, or whatever the appropriate time unit for a given pilot study may be), how many achieved at that level, and how many did not? Equally important were the frequencies or rates of achievement comparable across several variants tested in second-round pilots, and whether or not some combinations of these elements led to greater improvements than others. The items mentioned to this point would be part of any complete record of the installation and evaluation of a pilot study.

These data, as well as other information, should be incorporated into a users' manual to be provided to any school district considering the adoption of a tested project. We would agree with Carlson's [19] observation that no users' manual can ever provide sufficient information for purposes of installing an innovation. Each installation will, in addition, require "customizing" to the needs and special problems of the local site. However, a users' manual is a mandatory part of the process of specifying the conditions under which a tested pilot project could be reproduced. The experiences of regional laboratories and the Office of Education's Research and Developmental Centers would be most helpful in defining the elements of a users' manual. It is evident, though, that such guides must contain a variety of critical information. Some of those elements have been identified previously, and will not be repeated.

In addition, the users' manual should provide a comprehensive account of the purposes of the project, the magnitude of change that it represented for the pilot site, and the exact nature of those changes. If there were any peculiar characteristics of the pilot site that would rarely be encountered elsewhere which appear to affect the success of the project, they should be fully delineated and their role examined in detail.

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[19] R. Carlson, "The OE-NIE Roles in Educational Change," Mimeographed (undated), p. 10.

What problems were encountered in the installation stages of the project, either in initial tests, or in later variants? If any of those problems were recurrent, that is, were encountered in all or most of the pilot installations, that fact should be identified, and hypotheses presented as to how future installation might be organized to avoid or overcome such difficulties.

Vital information that will concern later adopters of a program is the costs, in money, time, and energy, that go into the initial stages of an installation. For example, pilot studies may have found that reform efforts succeed more quickly when certain physical plant modifications are made, or when the entire school staff participates in one or two-week workshops before the opening of the school year.

Although each local site must have latitude to adapt and modify reforms to match the unique requirements of its settings, the more completely the records resulting from pilot studies can specify the necessary conditions, including hardware, materials, and facilities, and special services required, for successful installation and operation, the better it will discharge its obligation of informing the potential user of the problems he faces, and the benefits to be gained.[20]

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[20] M. B. Miles (Ed.), Innovation in Education (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1964).

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